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ABSTRACT

Topics and issues included in this packet of educational research information are presented in the form of separate news sheets or single-sheet essays. Particular emphasis is placed on improving communication between New Zealand teachers and Polynesian and Maori schoolchildren and parents. Guidesheets designed to aid teachers in assessing student study skills and a sample questionnaire used to determine the effectiveness of a given school's vocational education program are included. Articles included deal with youth employment patterns and with the effect of television viewing on reading ability. A special item exploring alcoholism in young people is appended. Also present is a copy of the United Nation's 1959 Declaration of Children's Rights and an index of SET items published from 1974-1978. (LH)

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item 1

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set

NUMBER ONE, 1979

set research information for teachers

number one 1979

Content Sheet

Research information for principals, teachers, students, lecturers and others.

Leaflets and brief reports designed for private study, staff meetings in-service courses, and discussion in small groups.

RESEARCH INFORMATION FOR TEACHERS

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An aid for the classroom teacher who is keen to see how well her children are using the skills of study.

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An article explaining why we trip up on cross-cultural difficulties and spoil our best intentioned efforts to help or to learn.

5 TV and Reading *Des Walsh*
Does TV watching have a bad effect on children's reading? Popular opinion is proved badly astray in this review of overseas and NZ research.

6 Who Speaks Maori in NZ? *Richard Benton*
"No one speaks Maori anymore!" "There are thousands of Maori Speakers!" What is the truth of the matter? With 8 maps.

7 Forms of Assessment in Secondary Schools *Peter Thomson*
What types of exam are there? Are you using the most appropriate? Here is a handy frame to hang discussion on.

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Professor Bennett thought that he had found that formal teachers teach best. But the best teacher that he found teaches informally! A reprint article finds her well worth imitating.

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Free copies of *set* items

Copies of many past *set* items are available on request while they last. If the item is available its numerical list number (see item 14 of this *set*) is shown below

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United Nations Declaration of Childrens Rights

When the nations of the world, after the shattering experience of the first world war established the League of Nations they attempted also to establish standards nations would pledge to live by, to help build a truly peaceful and happy world.

On the 26th of September 1924, the Assembly of the League of Nations adopted the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child. In 1939, however, the second world war began, the League became powerless and its declarations 'mere scraps of paper'.

In 1946, a year after the United Nations was formed, it recommended that the Geneva Declaration be revived to 'bind the people of the world today as firmly as it did in 1924.' Two years later, in 1948, the United Nations General Assembly approved the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In this declaration the freedoms and rights of children were implicitly included. But it was thought that this was not enough: the special needs of children justified an additional, separate, document.

In 1950 a preliminary draft of a new declaration of childrens' rights was drawn up. Two international Covenants on Human Rights were settled first, and then in 1957 the Human Rights Commission took it up. A simple, brief declaration proclaiming general principles without providing methods of enforcing them was preferred.

On November the 20th, 1959 the General Assembly – with the representatives of 78 countries meeting in plenary session – adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. . . unanimously.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

Preamble

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have, in the Charter, reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas the United Nations has, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Whereas the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth,

Whereas the need for such special safeguards has been stated in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, and recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the statutes of specialized agencies and international organizations concerned with the welfare of children,

Whereas mankind owes to the child the best it has to give,

Now therefore,

The General Assembly

Proclaims this Declaration of the Rights of the Child to the end that he may have a happy childhood and enjoy for his own good and for the good of society the rights and freedoms herein set forth, and calls upon parents, upon men and women as individuals and upon voluntary organizations, local authorities and national governments to recognize these rights and strive for their observance by legislative and other measures progressively taken in accordance with the following principles:

Principle 1

The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. All children, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

Principle 2

The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

Principle 3

The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.

Principle 4

The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow and develop in health; to this end special care and protection shall be provided both to him and to his mother, including adequate pre-natal and post-natal care. The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation and medical services.

Principle 5

The child who is physically, mentally or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education and care required by his particular condition.

Principle 6

The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and in any case in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother. Society and the public authorities shall have the duty to extend particular care to children without a family and to those without adequate means of support. Payment of state and other assistance toward the maintenance of children of large families is desirable.

Principle 7

The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general culture, and enable him on a basis of equal opportunity to develop his abilities, his individual judgment, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.

The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education and guidance; that responsibility lies in the first place with his parents.

The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; society and the public authorities shall endeavor to promote the enjoyment of this right.

Principle 8

The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief.

Principle 9

The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any form.

The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development.

Principle 10

The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men.

Publicity to be given to the Declaration of the Rights of the Child

The General Assembly,

Considering that the Declaration of the Rights of the Child calls upon parents, upon men and women as individuals, and upon voluntary organizations, local authorities and national governments to recognize the rights set forth therein and strive for their observance,

1. *Recommends* governments of member states, the specialized agencies concerned and the appropriate non-governmental organizations to publicize as widely as possible the text of this Declaration;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to have this Declaration widely disseminated and, to that end, to use every means at his disposal to publish and distribute texts in all langauages possible.

item 3

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FOSSIC

A Study Skills Rating Schedule

By Peter Jackson, Neil Reid, Cedric Croft, and Colin Cowie.

FOSSIC (For Observing Study Skills In Children) has been devised to help the classroom teacher assess how well a child is studying — in school, and at home.

The first step is to observe carefully what the child does when set to do a study task, or to prepare material alone. Second, match what you have observed with the statements given alongside the eight scales of FOSSIC. Find the statement that best describes what the child did.

Each scale point has a number and a letter. Simply record the numbers and letters, and, when you need it, turn these into a pen picture. Here is an invented pen picture:

> Paul usually does not understand instructions, even when these are provided in considerable detail. Given a little assistance he is capable of determining the appropriate source of information. But although knowing what to look for he still conducts his search in a quite haphazard fashion, the end result being that no information relevant to the task is found in the time available. Work prepared at home is somewhat better, implying that either he uses the appropriate study skills on some occasions, or perhaps that he obtains help from others. As a rule, the work that he hands in is poorly or illogically organised. When confronted with a written assignment his concentration is poor and he needs constant urging to persist with even the simplest written assignment. By contrast, when asked to do a manual task, his concentration is much better, and encouragement is required only on difficult tasks. . . .

This pen picture was based on invented FOSSIC ratings of 1D, 2C, 3C, 4D, 5B, 6D, 7B, 8C.

This has given us a picture of Paul's *performance*. To give a picture of his *knowledge* of the skills of studying we need to go to Paul's results on *PAT: Study Skills*. It could work out like this:

> *Scores*
> Paul's *PAT: Study Skills* Scores (He is within the modal age range for his class).
> Series 1 Knowledge and Use of Reference Materials — 23rd percentile
> Series 2 Reading Maps, Graphs, Tables and Diagrams — 43rd percentile
> Series 3 Reading Study Skills — 10th percentile

Conclusions

Paul's basic lack of knowledge of reference skills is shown in his 23rd percentile ranking on the Series 1 *PAT: Study Skills*. This test includes such skills as alphabetical order, using reference sources, the library, encyclopedias, indexes, tables of contents. Lack of these skills is probably one reason for his C and D rating on FOSSIC 3 and 4, Locating Sources of Information at School, and Extracting Information from Sources.

Paul's 43rd percentile ranking on the Series 2 *PAT: Study Skills* suggests that he is better at less verbal tasks since this is a test about reading maps, graphs, tables and diagrams. His B rating for Persistence: Handmade Project (FOSSIC 7) is in line with this.

Paul's 10th percentile ranking on Series 3 *PAT: Study Skills* (skimming, summarising, recognising relevant material, fact and opinion . . .) is consistent with his D, D, C ratings for FOSSIC 1, 6, 8, Understanding Instructions, Persistence: Written Assignment, and Organisation of Work.

Recommendations

If use can be made of Paul's relatively good skills in less verbal tasks his performance in the skills of Independance, Study Skills (at home), Persistance: Written Assignments and Organisation of Work, (FOSSIC 1, 5, 6, 8) may improve.

However, remedial work in the skills covered by *PAT: Study Skills* Series 1 and 3 (Knowledge and Use of Reference Materials, and Reading Study Skills) would seem to be of utmost importance.

FOSSIC was used in experimental form by about 40 teachers in twelve intermediate and primary schools during the third term 1978. A number of modifications were made following recommendations by the teachers.

Changes to FOSSIC to suit your own particular needs are *recommended*.

FOSSIC is not copyright material. You may copy it as you wish.

On the back of the FOSSIC schedule (page 4) you will find a fuller explanation of what is meant by Understanding Instructions, Independence, etc., and what to bear in mind when observing.

Points to Remember

1. FOSSIC is *not* a means of ranking pupils.
2. It is not intended that the ratings for pupils in a class (or any other group) be averaged or compared.
3. Ratings should not be expected to conform to the normal curve.
4. The ratings are not equivalent; a 'B' rating for Understanding Instructions is not equivalent to a 'B' rating for Persistence: Written Assignment. Therefore a total mark has no meaning.
5. Do not let your judgement about a child's performance on one scale — say, Locating Sources of Information — affect your judgement on another — say, Independence.
6. Careful, concentrated observation is crucial. It is recommended that many observations be made, each concentrating on one scale, for example Understanding Instructions, only.
7. Ask yourself:
   What did he *do*? not What is he *like*?
   What did she *do*? not What is she *like*?

FOSSIC

When set to do a study task, or to prepare material alone, he or she usually . . .

	A	B	C	D
1 Understanding Instructions	— understands instructions without need for further explanation.	— requires a little extra explanation before instructions are understood.	— requires considerable extra explanation before instructions are understood.	— does not understand instructions, even with considerable additional explanation.
2 Independence (at school)	— determines independently appropriate sources of information for specified tasks.	— determines appropriate sources of information with a little teacher assistance.	— determines appropriate sources of information when given considerable teacher assistance.	— needs to be directed to specific sources of information.
3 Locating Sources of Information (at school)	— locates all or most of the available sources of information that are required for the task.	— locates some of the available sources of information that are required.	— searches randomly until an appropriate source is found.	— does not search for information sources and expects to be directed.
4 Extracting Information from Sources	— extracts all or most of the information appropriate to the task.	— extracts some of the information appropriate to the task.	— extracts little information appropriate to the task.	— does not extract any information appropriate to the task.
5 Study Skills (at home)	— applies appropriate study skills to school work done at home.	— applies appropriate study skills to school work done at home on some occasions.	— applies appropriate study skills to school work done at home on few occasions.	— does not apply appropriate study skills to school work done at home.
6 Persistence: Written Assignment	— concentrates, even on difficult tasks, until completed.	— concentrates on tasks, though may need encouraging if the task is difficult.	— concentrates on easy tasks most of the time but needs occasional encouraging even for these tasks.	— needs constant encouraging, no matter how easy the task.
7 Persistence: Hand-made Product (at school)	— concentrates, even on a difficult task, until completed.	— concentrates on the task, though may need encouragement if the task is difficult.	— concentrates on an easy task most of the time but needs occasional encouraging even for these tasks.	— needs constant encouraging, no matter how easy the task.
8 Organisation of Work	— produces work, all or most of which is organised appropriately.	— produces work, parts of which are inappropriately organised.	— produces work that is mostly inappropriately organised.	— produces work that is characterised by a lack of any appropriate organisation.

Explanation of Scales

1 *Understanding Instructions:*
(i) The usual range of instructions given in the classroom to the class as a whole is meant, not instructions to individuals.
(ii) No distinction is drawn between oral and written instructions. A global impression of the pupil's ability to understand **all** kinds of instructions is required.
(iii) For scale point D it is assumed that the teacher has endeavoured to pitch his instructions at a level which should be comprehended by all the pupils in the class.

2 *Independence (at school):*
This is **not** intended to measure a personality trait as for the pupil's Progress Card. Rather, to gauge the pupil's ability to decide for himself what sources are the likely ones to go to. (In order to provide information to assist in the solution of the problem facing him).

3 *Locating Sources of Information (at school):*
This assumes that the information sources are available to **all** the pupils being rated. This would usually include books, periodicals, tapes, filmstrips, picture sets, maps, resource kits, photographs, facsimile documents, etc. The rater is required to assess the pupil's capability in finding the appropriate information sources.

4 *Extracting Information from Sources:*
Having located and chosen his information sources, or having been shown them by another, the pupil's ability to extract the information (relevant to the given task) from the selected sources is rated.

5 *Study Skills (at home):*
The pupil's behaviour cannot be observed directly. Instead, the rater must infer from the work done at home, whether appropriate study skills have been applied.

6 *Persistence: Written Assignment:*
The terms 'difficult' and 'easy' are to be considered in relation to the age and class level, (i.e., for a representative national sample of 12-year-olds or Form II pupils), **not** a single class.

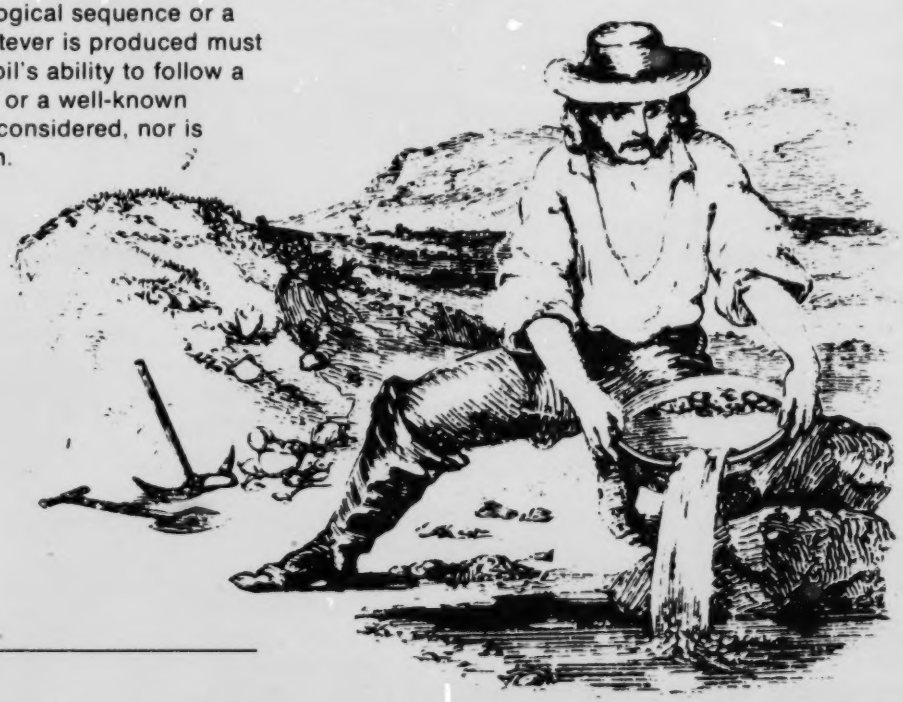
7 *Persistence: Hand-made Product (at school):*
The terms 'difficult' and 'easy' are to be considered in relation to the age and class level i.e., for a representative national sample of 12-year-olds or Form II pupils, **not** a single class.

8 *Organisation of Work:*
This is concerned with the pupil imposing his own structure on the task and producing or generating an organization which is acceptable (in the teacher's view) for the task. The organization may be a logical sequence or a novel ordering, but whatever is produced must be **appropriate.** The pupil's ability to follow a teacher-provided model or a well-known stereotype is **not** being considered, nor is neatness of presentation.

FOSSIC was devised by Peter Jackson, Neil Reid, Cedric Croft, and Colin Cowie of the NZCER Test Development Unit.

Specimen sets of *PAT: Study Skills* are available on loan from the NZCER Test Library; or may be bought (full set $7, primary or secondary set $5). Write to Test Sales, NZCER, Box 3237, Wellington. Class sets for use in schools are supplied through Education Boards and Regional Offices of the Department of Education.

The *Study Habits Evaluation and Instruction Kit* (SHEIK), for intermediate and secondary schools, is now available from NZCER Test Sales Service.



Working with Pacific Island and Maori Parents

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Trevor Plaisted

"The teachers said the paint was to encourage creativity. The parents said the paint was to teach colour names. Sometimes they add 'Why can't they use crayons; it makes less mess?'" [1]

Parents generally do not understand why teachers teach the way they do. Teachers tell them, but the message does not get through. And there is no doubt that the problems of communication are harder when teachers and parents are from different cultural groups.

The following discussion of these difficulties by Geraldine McDonald is from a Pakeha (European) point of view. Her illustrations and information are drawn from two sources: her own research projects which involved Maori women, and some recent research work carried out by Professor Joan Metge and Dr Patricia Kinloch, written up in a paper called Talking Past Each Other: Problems of Cross-Cultural Communication. [2]

If we wish to understand the feelings of people and to involve them in organisations such as the PTA, and get them along to our schools it is helpful to think of these situations as being similar to parties. A party has hosts. It also has guests. Both hosts and guests have feelings about each other. Moreover, guests can turn down invitations to the party. If the party turns out to be a bit dull or boring, or socially stressful, the guests can leave. They can leave physically or they can tune out psychologically. Thinking of Maori and Polynesian parents as guests at a party is a far more useful analogy than thinking that the open day or the PTA meeting is an opportunity to teach parents things. You don't usually try to teach people things at parties. Instead, the hosts concentrate on trying to make the guests feel comfortable and at ease.

The Problems of Communication

When people from two different cultural groups try to communicate with each other there are at least four things which may fail.

(a) The two people (or two groups) may already have different ideas in their heads. They may have differing interpretations of basic ideas. They may start with different basic assumptions. They may also value different things. Their beliefs and values may differ. There is a strong chance that they will start their communication with differing stocks of mental furniture.

(b) There may be a difference in status. One may have had more education that the other, their occupations may be quite different. Status differences may get in the way of clear communication.

Would you like to come to a meeting for parents?
My clothes aren't flash. I haven't had much education. I wouldn't know what to do. I won't go
I'll come if I can

(c) There may be a difference in the way they expect events to be arranged. Or they may expect encounters to be conducted differently.

(d) There may also be differences in what people do and what the others make of it. The people trying to communicate may have different interpretations of what they are doing and what the others are doing.

These four areas are related to one another. The way in which people conduct *events* (such as weddings and funerals), and *encounters* (such as a parent meeting the teacher in the school corridor), is certainly affected by basic ideas, beliefs, and assumptions. The *interpretation of behaviour* is affected by what participants see as their *status* and the status of the other person. The question: Who is the more important? comes up in most encounters and not solely in cross-cultural ones. People are usually very conscious of status differences, but largely unconscious of those forms of communication we can call body language. By and large, however, the four areas can be treated separately.

Different Beliefs and Values

For some time now I have been associated with a research project called the Maori Family Education Project in which the mothers in three pre-school groups in the Waikato are running their own programmes and trying to work out a Maori way of doing this. The project involves a number of things. A training programme has been developed by the women in the groups. A small research group, which includes myself, has studied what has been happening and we have discussed it together. The mothers in the groups have written reports of discussions they have held in their pre-schools, and have reported on the success or otherwise of the training programme.

The mothers who take their children to these groups have two reasons for doing so. Some are unhappy about participating in either playcentres or kindergartens. Others have no objection to the established pre-school institutions and may take their children to one or the other (usually kindergarten). All these mothers feel that the Maori Family Pre-School offers them something which is lacking in either playcentres or kindergartens.

What are some of the different ideas and values held by mothers and grandmothers in the Maori Family Pre-Schools? The research group decided, on the basis of discussions with the mothers, that as part of the training mothers should be asked to read or to tell a story to a group of children. I shall now quote from one of the reports on this project. [3]

> One of the clearest examples of cultural differences in interpretation arose when the training leaders took some books for pre-school children to the groups.

In one pre-school the mothers looked at the lavishly illustrated books and said that they did not like that kind of book and that they were not real books. (No doubt a school book would look like a real book to these mothers. The pre-school book probably did not look very serious. When this incident was discussed the training leaders decided that they could not just show books to the groups but that they would have to sell the idea of such books as well.)

The mothers gave a different interpretation to *play* than that implicit in playcentres and kindergartens. It tended to be interpreted as what children do when they are outside, perhaps on the model of: 'go out and play'. Children playing with puzzles such as jig-saws was frequently interpreted by the mothers as a sign of cleverness. I found the same reaction amongst mothers (both Maori and Pakeha) in another research project when I told four-year-old children a story and at different points in the story asked the children to give the answer to a question which required the child to work out the implications of a particular situation. These questions were not difficult for children to answer but mothers were impressed and made remarks such as, 'I didn't know she was so smart'. (I think that we are often wasting our time trying to point out to mothers the value of every play activity or even of play itself. Instead we should show them play activities which reveal something about the child's thinking — as jig-saws and puzzle-boards do.)

The mothers in the Maori Family Pre-School generally gave *order* or *discipline* a different interpretation from that generally given in other kinds of pre-schools. They were less interested in the young child's self-discipline than in discipline imposed by adults, that is, obedience to adult orders. (I am not suggesting that either view of discipline — self-directed behaviour or other-directed behaviour — is best. In cross-cultural communication neither interpretation is better, but they are different.)

The mothers in the Maori Family Pre-Schools gave a different interpretation to *time* than the one usual in playcentres and kindergartens. In playcentres and kindergartens sessions start at a certain time, say 9 a.m. In the Maori Pre-Schools sessions started when everyone arrived.

Finally in this section I must mention one of the difficulties I experienced in observing the pre-schools at work. There is no difficulty observing a Pakeha pre-school or junior school. One simply slips in quietly and everyone gets on with one's work. In the Pakeha way of thinking, work is valued very highly. In the Maori groups pre-school sessions stopped the moment I hove into sight because hospitality and welcoming has high value in Maori society and it took precedence over working with the children. It would have been rude to continue to pay attention to the children when I had arrived all the way from Wellington.

Status Differences

I have recently been in Raetihi talking to Mrs Rumatiki Wright who, before her retirement, was a senior welfare officer with the Department of Maori Affairs, She set up little pre-school groups in the Waikato-Maniapoto area in the late 1960s. She impressed on me the consequences of differences in status between Maori people in general and the Pakeha majority. In the eyes of many Maori women Pakehas are always dressed up. Then too, many Maori women feel that they lack education in comparison with Pakehas. Maoris are well aware of the Pakeha custom of ranking a person according to the money he or she possesses. Maoris rank people by other methods including seniority in tribe or family. In working successfully with Maoris and other Polynesians it is usually important to correct ideas about differences in status. This can be done if you sincerely like and value the people you are dealing with. You can also do this if you seek to learn from them. That is, if they become the teachers and you become the learners.

Organization of Events and Encounters

Everybody knows that the Maori funeral differs from the Pakeha one and that there are special procedures which take place on maraes. But everybody does not know that a host of everyday events are ordered differently in Maori society than they are in Pakeha society. Again, I shall give some practical examples. Often a Pakeha teacher or a research worker will want to gather together a group of Maori or other Polynesian people. The Pakeha's natural tendency is to get hold of a Maori or a Samoan (or whatever the group desired) and ask that person to gather together other Maori or Samoan mothers. It may work but often it does not. Polynesian peoples work very much with, and in, groups and a more effective way of getting a group together is to find a ready-made one such as a branch of the Maori Women's Welfare League or a church group and to work through this.

Time, too, is ordered differently in Polynesian circles. It may take a very long time for a group to reach consensus on a particular issue but once consensus has been reached then one can expect action. When I was last in Hamilton I heard a typical story. A group of Maori women thought that they might like to form themselves into a family pre-school and asked some members of the Maori Family Education Association to talk to them about it. Two members of the Association visited the group and put to them the advantages of forming a pre-school and explained how to go about it. They did not press the group to make a decision but let them discuss it amongst themselves knowing that time spent on preliminary deliberations is time well spent. They returned subsequently to see how the group was proceeding to find a Pakeha woman addressing the meeting and saying, 'Now you've got to make up your minds. You'll have to decide whether you want a pre-school or not'. And she added a remark which illustrates the differing Pakeha and Maori attitudes to the use of time. She said, 'You can't waste time'.

Interpretation of Behaviour

In their paper *Talking Past Each Other* Joan Metge and Patricia Kinloch discuss unconscious behaviour which causes problems in cross-cultural communication. I can do no better than to quote from their paper.

Pakehas usually say 'yes' and 'no' reinforcing the words with a nod or a shake of the head. They accept the words without the actions; but regard the actions without the words as inadequate and rude except in situations of intimacy. Maoris and Samoans on the other hand frequently dispense with the verbal forms and rely on gestures only, without considering this rude. They recognise the nod and headshake as 'yes' and 'no' but commonly use other indicators: an upward movement of the

head and/or eyebrows for 'yes', and an unresponsive stare — straight ahead or down at the feet — for 'no'. These are easily misread. A Pakeha infant teacher related how she found she was continually repeating herself to her predominantly Polynesian class. She established that she was doing it in response to the raised eyebrows gesture which she had interpreted as 'Please say it again', and realised that they were in fact signalling 'Yes, we understand'.

Here is a further passage:

> The use of the eyes in interpersonal encounter is a fruitful field for misunderstanding. Pakeha children are explicity instructed to 'look at' anyone they are talking to and to look superiors in particular 'in the eye'. Looking at people signals interested and undivided attention. It also indicates you have nothing to hide. To let your gaze wander from a vis-a-vis is interpreted as boredom and (worse) bad manners for letting it show. To look away from a questioner is a sign of evasion or guilt. Maoris and Samoans on the other hand consider it actually impolite to look directly at others when talking to them. They say it tends to put the two concerned into a relation of opposition, encouraging the development of conflict and confrontation. It also tends to cut out the others in the group. So they rest their gaze elsewhere, slightly to one side, on the floor, ceiling or distant horizon, or they even close their eyes altogether. In this way they 'soften' whatever is said and make it easier to concentrate on the content. Unfortunately behaviour intended to avoid offence is often 'read' by Pakehas with other ideas as rudeness or shiftiness. At the same time, Pakehas make Polynesians uncomfortable by the unrelenting way they fasten their eyes on your face, so that there is no escape or respite from the pressure of their personality.

Into Practice

There is a very great need for both pre-service and in-service training of teachers in cross-cultural communication. Of the two forms of training, in-service training is probably the more effective. Edie Tawhiwhirangi and Miria Pewhairangi, both of whom are experienced in running courses aimed at increasing cross-cultural understanding, recommend locally organised courses run by local Maori and Polynesian people. Edie Tawhiwhirangi refers to such courses as *pocket courses*. They make use of local talent and bring the learners into local situations.

Remember the party analogy which I suggested at the beginning of this article. *Beliefs and attitudes* are the things that guests bring with them to the party. *Status differences* are important in determining whether those invited to the party actually accept the invitation or decline it. *The ordering of events and encounters:* that determines such things as whether the guests arrive early or late, alone or in groups, and who they make contact with during the course of the party. Finally *differences in interpreting personal behaviour*. This determines whether the guests think the host rude or polite and it may also determine what the guests think of each other.

Some Suggestions for Cross-Cultural Discussion Groups

Beliefs and Values

It is not always easy to determine one's own beliefs and values, much less the beliefs and values of other people. The paper by Joan Metge and Patricia Kinloch, mentioned earlier, is a good place to start reading about cross-cultural differences.

The first thing to realise is that differences do exist. Once this has been acknowledged a group can start discussing general things such as 'which is more important, work or leisure?' and, then, specific situations in which work is contrasted with leisure, e.g., in the classroom, in the home, in the work place.

Sometimes it is important for both speaker and hearer to share values. There should, for example, be some common agreement between parents and teachers on what constitutes learning. However, on a whole range of issues life can go on without any common agreement. Rather a mutual understanding of differences is needed. What kind of differences should one simply accept? In what situations should we seek consensus of opinion? In what situations is understanding by one person enough? What differences make life more exciting?

Status Differences

There are often status differences between
learners and *teachers*
givers and *receivers*
those with plenty of money and *those with little money*
In each of the above instances who is of most worth?

The Organization of Events and Encounters

Role playing of events such as Meet-the-Teacher evenings allows those who take part, and observers, to analyse the social rules we use. Role play of casual encounters between friends and acquaintances helps too. Discussion of formal events such as weddings, funerals, and committee meetings could cover issues such as, whose territory is used, who initiates the event, and what medium of communication is used.

Interpreting of Behaviour

One way into discussing this is to ask people to report instances in which their behaviour has been misunderstood. They can also report behaviour they find difficult to understand in people of a different cultural background. Once things people do are pinpointed their 'meaning' can be worked out and explanations can be sought for the differences.

The diagrams showing two people 'communicating' can be used very successfully by discussion groups. Leave the speech and thought 'bubbles' blank and ask people to fill them in; alter the sex of the people in the drawing; increase their number; suggest that they meet at different events; vary the situations. It will work best if the group contains people from different cultural backgrounds.

Above all, in groups containing people of differing cultural background the members should be encouraged to share their experiences.

Notes

1. Quoted from an article by Barbara Tizard called 'Carry on Communicating' in *The Times Educational Supplement* 3.2.78.
2. Metge, Joan and Kinloch, Patricia, *Talking Past Each Other: Problems of Cross-Cultural Communication*, Wellington, Victoria University Press/Price Milburn, 1978.
3. Maori Family Education Project, Report 3.

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TV and Reading

By Des Walsh

Introduction

'The more TV that children watch, the worse they will do at school, particularly when it comes to reading.' That is one popular belief. Another is that, for children who have difficulty with reading, watching television keeps them away from their books, and therefore it is a counterproductive activity. These beliefs rest on the 'commonsense' view that television requires very little in the way of reading, (even less than comics) and it is likely to supplant reading more and more as a leisure time activity, especially for the poor reader.

Many teachers as reported by Epstein (1974) evidently share this view. They believe that television reduces the child's time for reading and homework, and also that it requires less effort from him or her to listen to 'talking heads' than it does to get the message from print. And further, that this is especially so for the child who already finds reading a laborious frustrating task. This is not the only negative influence which it is claimed television can have on school attainment. T.V. offers faulty models of articulation, syntax and grammar, usually wrapped together in a special situational and entertaining kind of jargon.

Are these popular beliefs, teacher reports, and general assumptions only too true? Is the news all bad?

Background Facts

The writer's interest in this field was stimulated by a pilot study of specific learning difficulties in a group of 8-1/2 year olds in 15 Wellington schools. Fourteen of the 215 children were identified as having serious learning difficulties in at least one of the basic skills, reading, spelling, and mathematics. All 14 were of at least normal intelligence and, predictably, most were retarded in reading and spelling. One important objective of that study was to try to identify, and to study, factors which may have helped give rise to their learning difficulties. Thus the study tried to account for as many likely causes as possible, and included an examination of the role that TV played in the children's lives.

It was first necessary to find for each of the 14 low achievers (the subjects) another child of the same age, sex, intelligence and social-economic background, but *whose attainment was quite satisfactory* (the controls). This 'matched pairs' design enabled the researcher, to control as many as possible of the variables that contribute to school attainment. Then he could isolate and examine other factors which may also have had some bearing on the subjects' low attainment, or conversely upon the controls' very satisfactory attainment.

Research Results —The TV factors

The patterns of television viewing of both the Subjects and Controls were established in interviews with their parents. An interview schedule structured for the purpose was used by psychologists who carried out that segment of the pilot study. All of the information was provided by the children's parents only, and not the children themselves. Is the information, therefore, reliable? Furthermore the number of children involved (28) was small, which seriously limits applying the findings to all 8-1/2 year olds. Nevertheless the results of the comparison (see Table 1) are, to say the least, thought-provoking. Perhaps television does not deserve the 'bogey' kind of image which it is popularly given —at least for school learning.

Table 1 *Comparison of viewing times [on weekdays]*

Programme Times	Subjects (poor readers) (% watching daily)	Controls (good readers) (% watching daily)
3 pm — 4 pm	92	57
4 pm — 5 pm	57	50
5 pm — 6 pm	15	14
6 pm — 7 pm	57	93
7 pm — 8 pm	92	100
8 pm — 9 pm	86	93
9 pm — 10 pm	71	79
10 pm — 11 pm	15	21

Assuming that the figures in Table 1 are reliable (which the writer believes) two interesting hypothesis suggest themselves.

1. Good mastery of reading and watching a lot of TV go together in 8-1/2 year olds.
2. Television is not a cause of reading difficulties in 8-1/2 year olds.

The need for further research was indicated, but only if this phenomenon had not already been investigated. The chances were that, in a field so widely studied and discussed as television and learning, someone had already made an investigation against which the two hypotheses could be tested. This proved to be the case.

Overseas Research

Willbur Schrumm's (1961) investigation into the effects of television on the reading patterns of 6,000 children of primary and secondary school age is recognized as one of the classic studies in this field. Schramm's study was also unique in that it included children who had not viewed television, a feature that would be very difficult to repeat today.

Schramm established that the heaviest television watchers in this sample were the highest achievers at school, and that television had encouraged the children to read more than had any other out-of-school activity. Schramm also concluded that television stimulated the oral development of low achievers by widening their vocabulary. In vocabulary they were considered to be superior to the children who did not watch television. According to Schramm's analysis of the patterns of viewing, children up to about 9 years of age were the heaviest viewers, and by the age of 10 the brighter children had reached a 'saturation point'. The low achievers, however, did not reach that point for several years, many of the duller children taking considerably longer, while others apparently never reached it!

Jackie Busch in her research lacked a control group who had never viewed TV, but set out to detect any changes in the patterns and the effects of television viewing since Schramm's 1961 study. Busch's sample of 595 children ranged in age from 7 to 17; their reading abilities were established by a combination of teacher assessment and the *Californian Achievement Test in Reading*.

Busch confirmed that because television exposes children to many new words it expands their spoken vocabulary, and therefore is an important influence on learning to read, 'regardless of the programme content'. She also confirmed Schramm's earlier finding that the heaviest readers were the heaviest viewers. But, however much television may have helped the poorer reader to learn to read, Busch found that differences in viewing patterns between the good readers and the poor readers began to widen as the children grew older. Busch attributed this to two factors. The first was the poor readers' growing awareness of their generally inferior reading skills, and the second was that reading for them was a largely boring and tedious process. Television on the other hand was a much easier means of gaining information and it was also very much more entertaining in its presentation of that information. Asked what they liked to read, 29% of the primary pupils stated that they *never* enjoyed reading. Other

findings from Schramm's study which Busch was able to confirm were:

- Parents are of great importance in encouraging children to read, especially until about the age of 10.
- One important part of the parents' influence came from reading aloud to children before they learnt to read. All of the primary school children who indicated that they enjoyed reading said that their parents had read to them before they began school.
- Regardless of ability, the 9-15 year olds were the heaviest viewers with an average of 2 to 3 hours viewing per night.
- The high ability pupils tended to supplement the information that they received from television by follow-up reading of magazines and books.
- The low ability pupils showed no desire to look any further than the television set for the bulk of their information.
  (It is likely, however, that with some encouragement, particularly from parents, the children in this group may find it quite satisfying to investigate the subject of a TV programme by reading more about it.)
- Finally, the low ability students in the high school section of Busch's sample continued to watch fantasy-type programmes longer and were satisfied to accept the surface kind of information which TV provided, as 'gospel'.

Busch's conclusions, which supported those of Schramm, were that TV is a major influence on the reading habits and achievements of children. And further that pre-school and primary children benefited most from TV viewing (this gives some weight to the results of the Wellington study referred to earlier). From about the age of 10 on, individual saturation points were reached, with low ability children proving much slower to reduce their viewing time.

In her New Zealand study called the 'Going to School' project, Renwick (1977) employed a questionnaire as a means of gathering information on school beginners. The questions were put to 300 teachers of new entrants and ranged across many aspects of school and pre-school education. There were also questions on the influence of TV on pre-school children. Renwick commented that although many parents were critical of television programmes, it was 'nevertheless often regarded as an important medium for teaching some of the basic skills'.

Of the 238 teachers who completed the questionnaire 186 considered that the children had gained some advantage (sometimes several advantages) from watching television. The chief advantage was the children's acquisition of better general knowledge. The chief disadvantage was that the children viewed too late, too long, and viewed too many unselected programmes. The teachers were not agreed among themselves as to whether TV is a contributing factor to poor school performance. A few argued that those who watched most did least well at school, while others argued that for those children whose parents didn't provide the range of experiences necessary for the children's development, television could be a compensating influence. The evidence tends to support the hypothesis that TV is an important influence on learning to read, but whether it is a positive (constructive) influence, or a negative (distinctive) influence *especially in the early school years,* is uncertain.

Television stimulates reading

David Hill investigated in 1970 the influence of both television and reading on the leisure activities of a group of Forms 1 and 2 New Zealand children. Hill's conclusion (among others) was that television viewing was a considerable influence on the children's reading choices, and that 'television viewing leads to book reading more often then the book leads to viewing'. The most popular book listed by all the children on a 'viewing-to-book' scale was *Lassie Come Home* and 7 of the next 8 most popular books on the same ranking scale were derived from such television features as *Doctor Kildare, The Man from Uncle* and *Bonanza.*

Odland and Beach set out to see if a relationship between the most popular books and popular television programmes does exist. They circulated lists of book titles to elementary, junior high and senior high school pupils in Minnesota and concluded from their analysis of the children's preferences that the influence of television was obvious...since the *Little House* books were given first place in overwhelming numbers. (The title comes from a popular television series). Other titles based on TV series occupied 7 of the next 9 titles listed. Splaine studied this relationship in the state of Maryland surveying the 5 most popular books in all school libraries. 'As with the Ocland and Busch study,' said Splaine, 'the collected sample gives a clear indication that the verbal and visual literacies interact.' The lists of preferences for both Minnesota and Maryland were surprisingly similar despite the differences in samples and in questionnaires used. It appears that television is also a strong influence on children's reading choices.

Implications

Television, whatever one may feel about it, is here to stay and has to be 'lived with'. It clearly is a factor in literacy and there is reason to suspect that it could become a much more profound influence on literacy especially for the poor reader than it is at present. The question arises 'are we as educators making good use of the findings of research?' Witty in 1967 observed, 'TV may not offer an obstacle to reading but actually a source of stimulation and incentive.' And that being the case, Witty argues that uncontrolled television viewing should be supplemented by 'a constructive programme of guidance accompanied by a widespread use of interest to motivate effective learning.'

There seems little doubt that the literacies of reading and television interact; we should now focus our efforts on exploiting that interaction to make it more effective.

Ways and Means

There are a number of examples of how the interaction of reading and television have been exploited for

educational benefit. The British television series *Look and Read* and the American programmes *Sesame Street,* and *Electric Company*, focus on reading readiness and the beginnings of the process itself. The independant U.S. Educational Testing Services evaluated these programmes and discovered that they have achieved considerable success in reaching their goals. Further evaluations are required before it can confidently be claimed that the children have made long-term gains in reading. Nevertheless, the programmes have won considerable support from teachers in both the United States and Britain, and there has been a result growing pressure for a more widespread use of television in the teaching of reading or to help retarded readers.

Sesame Street, Electric Company and *Look and Read* have been designed for the pre-schooler and the school beginner. Material for children from 6 to 11 years of age, especially those with reading problems is scarce; perhaps some good linking work already being done by New Zealand teachers needs to be publicised?

An important new resource called *Thinkabout* is due to appear on U.S. TV screens in September 1979. This series of 60 quarter-hour programmes with related printed material is designed 'to blend and review maths and language skills while focusing on the reasoning process.' (Gough 1978). It is aimed at the 10 to 11 age group. This is, of course, a tremendously expensive undertaking. If New Zealand teachers are content to await the New Zealand version of *Thinkabout* before taking some initiative themselves to link TV and reading, the television set will by that time have been supplanted by some even more sophisticated gadet.

One approach which has the young reader in mind specifically and which teachers should find useful to motivate him to read, is suggested by the studies of Hill and of Odland and Beach. If such televised programmes as the *Little House* entice children to read the book it should follow that classrooms and school libraries in which those books are available have the means of encouraging the reluctant/poor reader to read. The fact that the books are 'quickies' produced to capitalize on the programme's popularity and therefore lack any real literacy merit is really of no great consequence at this stage. The prime concern is to motivate the kids to read, and to read with pleasure and understanding. Their introduction to 'better' books can follow later. If book versions of *Wonder Women* or *Chips* (to name two very popular current programmes), are not available, teachers will need to consider making the books themselves. Class discussions, 'snowball stories', descriptions, individual contributions of chapters, illustrations (maybe photos from magazines), finally typed and bound, will make a book for the class collection.

It may well be that if teachers put effort into balancing television and reading, this will prove, particularly in the case of the less able reader, the decisive ingredient in motivating him to supplement his viewing, by himself, with related (and therefore meaningful) reading. New Zealand teachers are probably already devising ways and means of achieving a balance. A symposium of contributions from those teachers would provide a very interesting, as well as constructive sequel, to this article.

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WHO SPEAKS MAORI IN NEW ZEALAND?

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Who Speaks Maori in New Zealand?

by Richard A.Benton

New Zealand Council for Educational Research

Adapted from a paper given at the symposium 'New Zealand's Language Future' 49th ANZAAS Congress Auckland, January 1979

A decade ago, Professor Bruce Biggs predicted that there would be 'a **slow** but inevitable retreat of Maori before the overwhelming pressure of English'. He thought there would be a rise in the importance of the ritual and ceremonial use of the language, and was certain that scholarly use of the language would increase, for, as he put it so aptly, 'it seems in the nature of things that we value our treasures most as they pass from us'.[1]

Data now becoming available[2] is providing us with a detailed picture of the extent to which Maori is still used. The general aspect follows the trends noted and described by Professor Biggs in 1968. The picture is by no means, however, a monotonous one, and even within the boundaries of a single county there may still be districts in which Maori is very much the language of the whole community, others where it is actively used by most adults and widely understood by children, and communities where its significance for the Maori population is almost purely ceremonial.

In most respects the Maori communities in the Bay of Islands represent very well the variety and complexity of patterns of knowledge and use of the Maori language in the North Island as a whole.

The Bay of Islands was the district to have the most intensive contacts with Europeans prior to 1840, with important missionary establishments at Paihia and Waimate North, and the notorious commercial and recreation centre of Kororareka, which was also the first administrative headquarters of the British colonial government. Today approximately 38 percent of the 20,000 residents of the geographical country are of Maori ancestry, making up 41% of the rural population and 35% of the townships.[3] Almost half the rural localities are predominantly Maori, almost half predominantly European, with a few almost equally divided. Only one of the townships, Moerewa, is predominantly Maori in population, in the seven others the proportion ranges from 43% in Kawakawa to 8% in Opua.

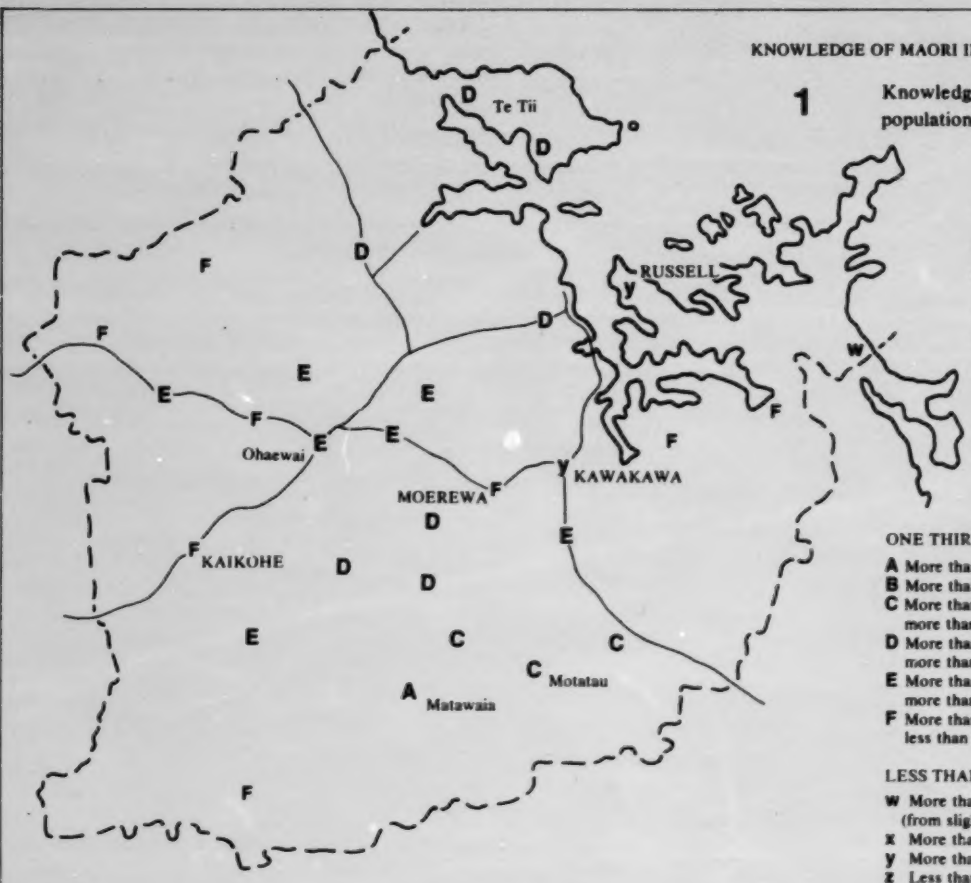
Looking at the county as a whole, it is an area where somewhat less than a half (but more than a third) of the total Maori population are fluent speakers of Maori and more than half can understand spoken Maori with little difficulty.[4] While this statement is true as far as it goes, only seven of the 28 communities we surveyed within the county boundaries (see Map 1) were exactly like this. In two communities, Kawakawa, the administrative centre of the political county, and Russell (the former Kororareka, no longer a centre of Maori population), less than a third of the Maori population speak or understand Maori, and less than half (but more than a quarter) have some minimal knowledge of the language. At the opposite end of the scale, Matawaia, a remote, predominantly Maori community, is almost entirely Maori speaking. Ten other communities have Maori populations where a half to a third of the people are fluent speakers of the language; in three of these more than two thirds have a good understanding of the language. Another eight communities have populations where a minority speak Maori, but more than one third of the population understand the language (the most populous community, Kaikohe Borough, is in this category). There is one community where a high degree of active use or passive knowledge was not present among more than a third of the community, but more than half had some residual knowledge of the language i.e. an understanding of common words and phrases.

But just as a general statement about the county covers a set of varied and complex local situations, blanket statements about communities may also be misleading. One might expect when visiting a community like Motatau in the south of the county or Te Tii in the north that one would have a much better than even chance of being understood (particularly in Motatau) if one spoke Maori to the first man, woman, or child one encountered — and have a better than even chance of receiving a reply in Maori rather than in English. Conversely, if one tried to do the same in Russell or Kawakawa, the odds against successful communication would be somewhat worse than 2 to 1. In fact, it would all depend on whom one met. As map 2 illustrates, if one chose a man or woman over 25 to talk to, the odds in Motatau or Te Tii would be 4 to 1 or better in ones favour, and even in apparently anglicized Russell and Kawakawa one would have at least an even chance of getting a reply in Maori — and in Kawakawa a much better than even chance of being understood. If one chose a child to talk to, or even a young adult, prospects would not be bright in the two towns, and the odds in the two rural areas would favour easy comprehension and a reply in English. In only one locality, Matawaia, located in a valley to the north of Mount Hikurangi, does the general description of the community hold for almost everyone, young or old. It is one of the few communities left in New Zealand where Maori is still very much the language of all the people.

In most parts of the Bay of Islands, however, Maori is very much the language of parents and grandparents, rather than of the Maori community as a whole. As Map 3 illustrates, active knowledge of Maori — the ability to speak the language fluently — is pervasive away from the main roads in the southern and north-eastern parts of the county, and widespread in most rural localities. It is weakest in the smaller towns (Russell, Kawakawa, Moerewa), although in the Borough of Kaikohe more than two thirds of the 100 persons in our sample aged over 24 were fluent speakers of Maori. With the younger age group, of course, the contrast in most areas is striking, and often dramatic.

KNOWLEDGE OF MAORI IN THE BAY OF ISLANDS COUNTRY

1 Knowledge of Maori by the whole Maori population in a selection of communities



Key

Incorporated Townships	KAIKOHE
Locations and Communities	Kerikeri
Main Roads	
County Boundary	

ONE THIRD OR MORE UNDERSTAND MAORI

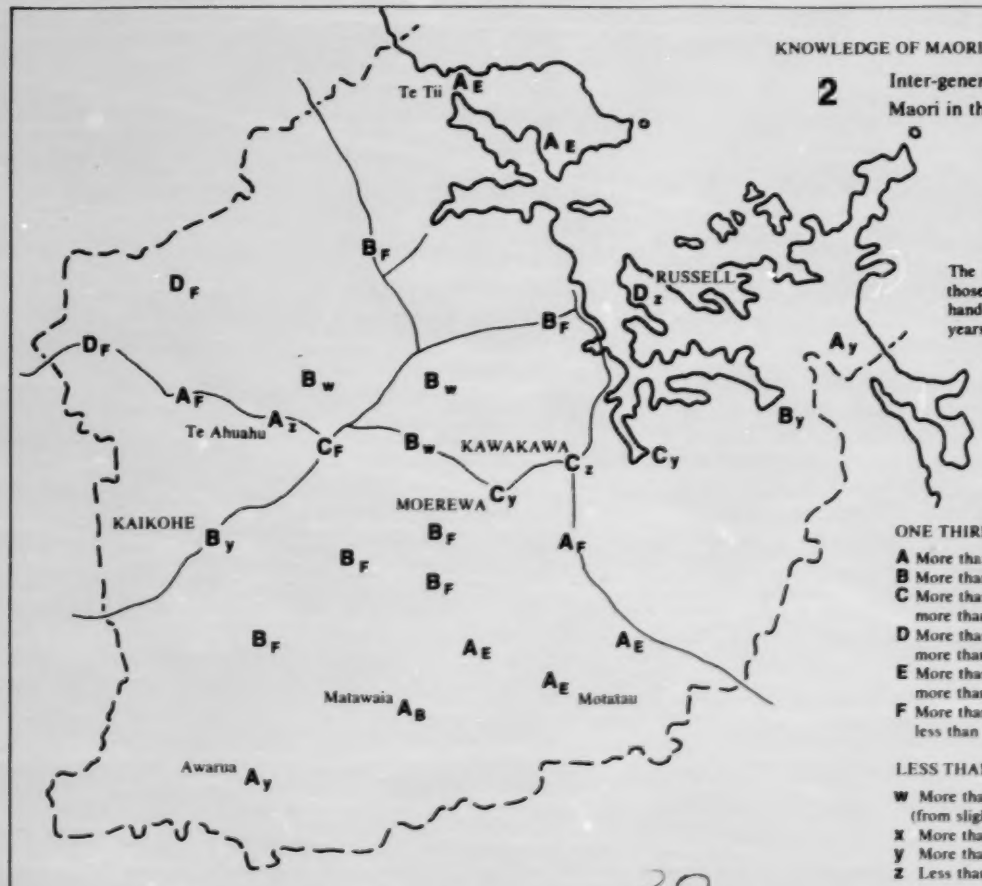
- **A** More than 4 out of 5 speak Maori fluently
- **B** More than 2 out of 3 speak Maori fluently
- **C** More than 1 out of 2 speak Maori fluently more than 2 out of 3 understand Maori
- **D** More than 1 out of 2 speak Maori fluently more than 1 out of 2 understand Maori
- **E** More than 1 out of 3 speak Maori fluently more than 1 out of 2 understand Maori
- **F** More than 1 out of 3 speak Maori fluently less than 1 out of 2 understand Maori

LESS THAN ONE THIRD UNDERSTAND MAORI

- **w** More than 2 out or 3 have some knowledge (from slight to fluent) of Maori
- **x** More than 1 out of 2 have some knowledge
- **y** More than 1 out of 4 have some knowledge
- **z** Less than 1 out of 4 have some knowledge

KNOWLEDGE OF MAORI IN THE BAY OF ISLANDS COUNTY

2 Inter-generational change in the knowledge of Maori in the selected communities



The larger, left hand, letter represents those aged 25 and over. The smaller, right hand, letter represents those under 25 years.

ONE THIRD OR MORE UNDERSTAND MAORI

- **A** More than 4 out of 5 speak Maori fluently
- **B** More than 2 out of 3 speak Maori fluently
- **C** More than 1 out of 2 speak Maori fluently more than 2 out of 3 understand Maori
- **D** More than 1 out of 2 speak Maori fluently more than 1 out of 2 understand Maori
- **E** More than 1 out of 3 speak Maori fluently more than 1 out of 2 understand Maori
- **F** More than 1 out of 3 speak Maori fluently less than 1 out of 2 understand Maori

LESS THAN ONE THIRD UNDERSTAND MAORI

- **w** More than 2 out or 3 have some knowledge (from slight to fluent) of Maori
- **x** More than 1 out of 2 have some knowledge
- **y** More than 1 out of 4 have some knowledge
- **z** Less than 1 out of 4 have some knowledge

Map 4 shows the proportion of fluent speakers of Maori among persons under the age of 25. In more than half the localities surveyed, including all the smaller townships, Maori speakers are a tiny minority — less than one in ten of the Maori population in this age group (which includes about two thirds of the total population). In Kaikohe they are scarcely better represented, and number less than 20% in two other localities. There are ten localities where younger Maori speakers constitute more than a third but less than half the population of this age group — most of them of secondary school age or older. This leaves Matawaia, where more than two out of three children and young people are still fluent speakers of Maori.

The distribution of a second degree of knowledge is shown in Map 5. Passive knowledge of the language — the ability to follow conversational Maori without difficulty — still characterizes a majority of the younger age group in the Te Tii and Motatau areas, reflecting the comparative recency of the rise of English as a dominant language in these districts, and the continued widespread use of Maori by the adult community. This facility to comprehend is still rare in the towns, although generally more common than an active command of the language. In rural areas, the most common characteristic is that less than half but more than a third of the younger age group (but again, more teenagers and young adults than babes in arms or primary school children) have a good passive knowledge of the language.

The most encouraging picture for those concerned about maintenance of the language is painted in Map 6. This shows the degree of residual knowledge of Maori among the younger age group within the various communities. In 11 of the 28 localities more than half the younger population has at least a minimal acquaintance with Maori — in three of them, apart from Matawaia, this is almost universal, and in five others it is shared by over two thirds of the members of this age group. Although in only one area is this degree of understanding held by less than a fifth of the members of this age group, even a slight knowledge of Maori characterizes a minority (albeit often a substantial one) of younger people in all the towns and more than a third of the rural areas surveyed. It is, however, the one kind of knowledge of Maori which is likely to grow irrespective of the fate of the active speech community. Many schools are now teaching their pupils some elements of the Maori language, and in the future what is described here as residual knowledge may be acquired in the course of a child's formal education, rather than from the bilingual milieu in which their parents or grandparents function.

The situation in the Bay of Islands, both in general and its details, is closely paralleled in those parts of the country which had (until the nineteen fifties) large mainly rural Maori speaking populations — most of Northland, the western Waikato, eastern Bay of Plenty, the East Coast, and parts of the King Country. In northern Hawkes Bay, central Waikato, the western Bay of Plenty and the Whanganui region, English may have begun to replace Maori as the principal language used by Maori children slightly earlier. In other parts of the country, particularly in Taranaki, southern Hawkes Bay, and the Wellington provinces (excluding the Whanganui-Rangitikei region), it is clear that the trend to English reached a critical level several generations ago.

The degree of knowledge of Maori for the whole Maori population in rural areas is shown on a county to county basis in map 7. This must, of course, be read in the light of the discussion of the Bay of Islands — the generalizations simply flatten a most varied landscape. A comparison of map 7 with map 8, which shows the variation in knowledge of Maori among the various towns, boroughs, and cities visited during the survey will reveal that, in most regions, town and city dwellers are less well acquainted, on average, with the Maori language than are their rural neighbours. There are a few notable exceptions to this general rule — Tokoroa, largely an immigrant community, is characterized by a more widespread knowledge of Maori than most rural communities in Matamata County, and Taneatua has the distinction of being the only incorporated township we found where a majority of the Maori population appear to be fluent speakers of Maori. It is situated close to a number of pervasively Maori speaking rural communities in Whakatane County, but is unique nonetheless in relation to other townships similarly located elsewhere.

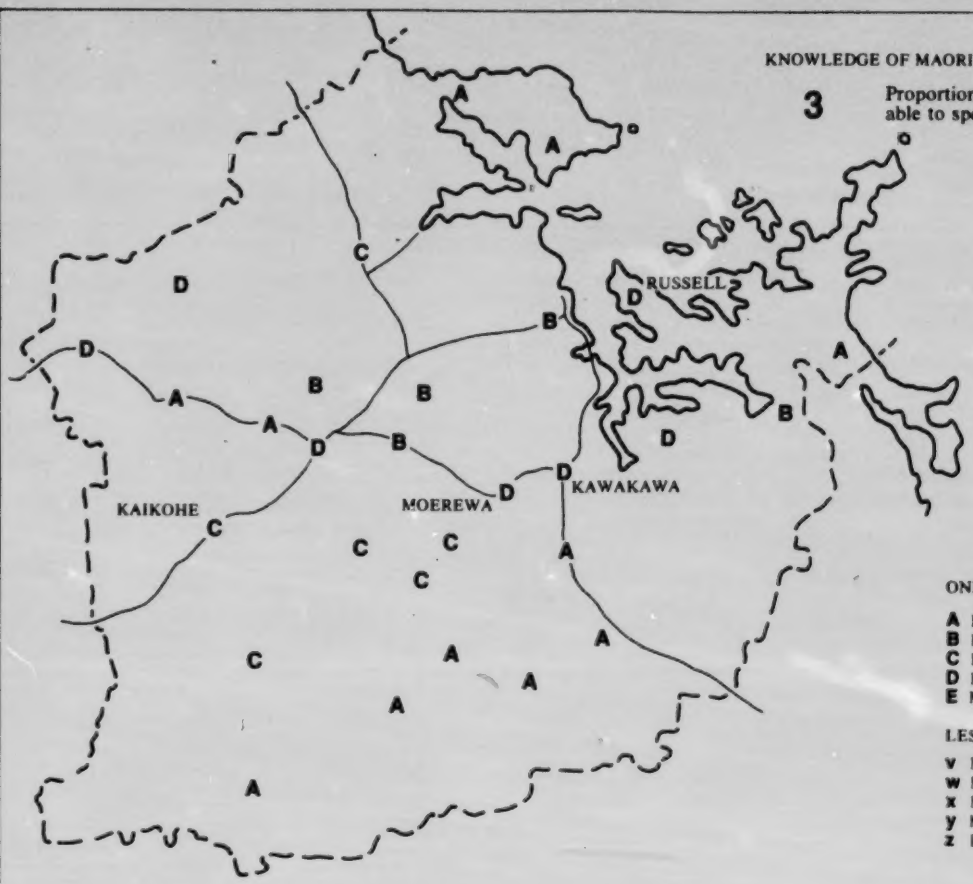
Although the details vary greatly, even among localities a few miles distant from each other, it is very clear that the proportion of Maori speakers among children is almost everywhere significantly less than that among adults. The reasons for this decline in the knowledge of Maori are varied and complex.

A reason often advanced by persons whose only language is English is that Maori parents cannot be bothered teaching their children Maori. This view is one which has little basis in fact. Of some 400 households (mostly in Northland) for which the data have been analyzed, for example, 109 had two native speakers of Maori in a parental role with children under the age of 15. In only three of these households was English the exclusive medium of communication among family members. In 23 households Maori was used more often than English, and in 42 — more than a third of the total — English and Maori were used with about equal frequency. Households presided over by a sole Maori speaking parent or guardian were more likely to be predominantly English speaking, but in 21 of the 51 in this category Maori was used with the same or greater frequency than English. From this and other evidence we have collected, it is clear that, when they are in a position to do so, many Maori speaking parents do make a conscious, and sometimes a desperate effort to pass on their knowledge of Maori to their children. It is also clear that many have had their efforts frustrated by factors quite outside their control.

Many of these were enumerated by Professor Biggs in his survey of the Maori linguistic scene — 'social and biological assimilation, accelerating urbanization with consequent depopulation of some rural areas, near complete television and radio coverage of the country' — the effects of all these have intensified, to the general detriment of efforts to maintain the Maori language. The effects of 'biological assimilation' — marriage between a Maori speaker and someone (perhaps also of Maori ancestry) who does not speak Maori fluently, or at all, are apparent. In 95 households of this type studied so far, Maori was used at least as often as English in only 15. In a society where almost all communication with, and from, the world outside the home is conducted and received in English, it is not difficult to understand why the Maori speaking partner uses English, which both understand, rather than requiring the

KNOWLEDGE OF MAORI IN THE BAY OF ISLANDS COUNTY

3 Proportion of the Maori population over 25 able to speak Maori



ONE THIRD OR MORE SPEAK MAORI

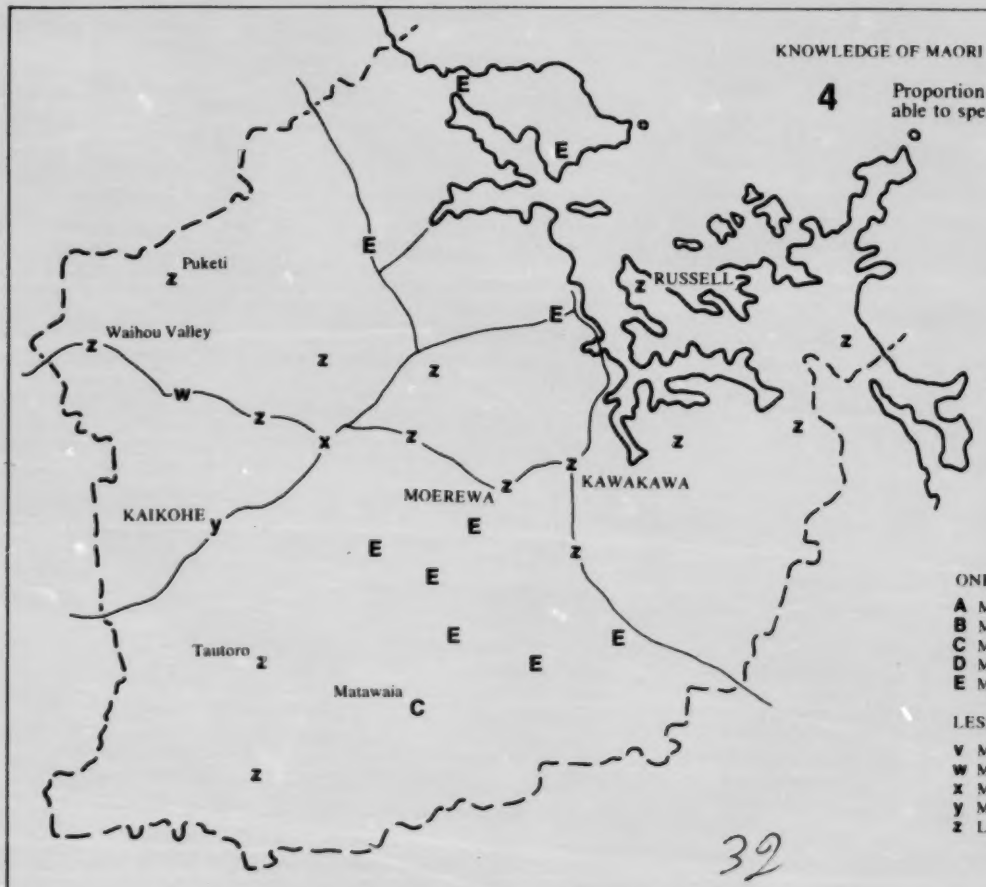
- **A** More than 4 out of 5
- **B** More than 3 out of 4
- **C** More than 2 out of 3
- **D** More than a half
- **E** More than 1 out of 3

LESS THAN ONE THIRD SPEAK MAORI

- **v** More than 1 out of 4
- **w** More than 1 out of 5
- **x** More than 1 out of 7
- **y** More than 1 out of 10
- **z** Less than 1 out of 10

KNOWLEDGE OF MAORI IN THE BAY OF ISLANDS COUNTY

4 Proportion of the Maori population under 25 able to speak Maori



ONE THIRD OR MORE SPEAK MAORI

- **A** More than 4 out of 5
- **B** More than 3 out of 4
- **C** More than 2 out of 3
- **D** More than a half
- **E** More than 1 out of 3

LESS THAN ONE THIRD SPEAK MAORI

- **v** More than 1 out of 4
- **w** More than 1 out of 5
- **x** More than 1 out of 7
- **y** More than 1 out of 10
- **z** Less than 1 out of 10

English speaking partner to learn Maori in what amounts to a social vacuum.

At least one other social force in New Zealand has had an adverse effect on Maori language maintenance through its effects on the linguistic behaviour of parents, and especially of mothers. This is the move since the early 1960s to involve Maori parents more closely in the formal education of their children, particularly in association with the playcentre movement. In its early stages the advocates of preschool education strongly emphasized the importance of mastery of English as a means of attaining long term educational goals. Many Maori-speaking mothers interpreted this as meaning that English should be spoken in the home, at least to the children, to the exclusion of Maori. This decision was undoubtedly reinforced by the unpleasant memories, held by mothers and fathers alike, of sometimes severe punishment meted out to them in their own school days for speaking Maori in the classroom or playground.

The role of women in hastening assimilation to the dominant culture, including language, has been commented on in several recent studies of threatened or dying languages in Europe and North America. A mother, anxious about the educational and economic progress of her children, would find it hard to resist the idea, which has been advanced by the English speaking community in New Zealand for the past century, that English is the only language worth worrying about, and that Maori is at best an obstacle, and probably a barrier, to most desirable personal and social goals. Since at the ceremonial level Maori is fundamentally a men's language, a Maori woman seeking increased social status might tend to be drawn to English rather than Maori. As if to underline this, a group of Maori women activists at a meeting in Auckland recently ordered an elderly man to stop speaking if he would not speak in English rather than Maori. This represents a break with tradition on the levels of etiquette (failure to respect the aged), role (woman openly ordering a man around) and language (preferring English to Maori on a Maori occasion).

However, for every case in which a woman has, for whatever reason, consciously re-directed the linguistic policy of a family from a Maori to an English orientation, there has probably been a move in the opposite direction by another Maori mother or grandmother. Maori women have undoubtedly played a key role in advancing English in some families, and just as vital a role in ensuring the maintenance of Maori in others.

Probably far more important than these influences on adults have been a number of external influences which initially have affected children more than adults. The first of these are the twin processes of urbanization and the improvement of communications between rural and urban areas. Urbanisation is not just the migration of many rural families to the cities, and the incorporation of some formerly rural areas into fast growing new urban centres. With better communication it can occur in 'rural' areas. The result of course is that the Maori speaking family has often become isolated from other Maori speakers (a process intensified by the policy of the Department of Maori Affairs in 'pepper potting' Maori families in predominantly European neighbourhoods). Almost all the other children in the neighbourhood and at school will be English speaking, and often hostile to all other languages. A child very quickly learns, in these circumstances, that speaking Maori is a social disadvantage, and is likely to refuse to speak it at home even if his parents continue to speak mainly in Maori. Eventually, parents also are likely to capitulate to the pressures of their children and the general environment, and use Maori less and less frequently within the home.

Even in the 1950s, children in many rural areas were beginning to exhibit the same behaviour patterns as their urban counterparts — once the oldest child in a family started school, the language of the family would change slowly from Maori to English. Quite apart from radio and more frequently contact with English speaking people, who could not also speak Maori, this attitude was probably in part a result of a closer identification between the Maori community and the school, which had its roots in the educational reforms of the late 1930s. Until this time, in most Maori communities the school had been a totally alien institution, and English — the linguistic medium through which it functioned — was also totally 'other' to most persons who regarded themselves as Maori. Even where the school was welcomed, it, like English, was seen primarily as an instrument through which 'nga rakau a te Pakeha' — the material advantages of European technology — could be obtained.

While this frame of mind persisted, there was little danger that the school would seriously disrupt the linguistic and social integrity of the Maori community. It was only when it became less 'other', more accommodating, more Maori, that it became the enemy within the gates that prophets like Rua Kenana in the Bay of Plenty and Kaka Porowini in Northland had warned against. As the influence of the school grew, so did the importance of the fact that all the school's business was conducted in English. And thus the warm atmosphere of the school became, in many rural areas, almost as powerful an influence for anglicization as English speaking neighbours and classmates in the towns.

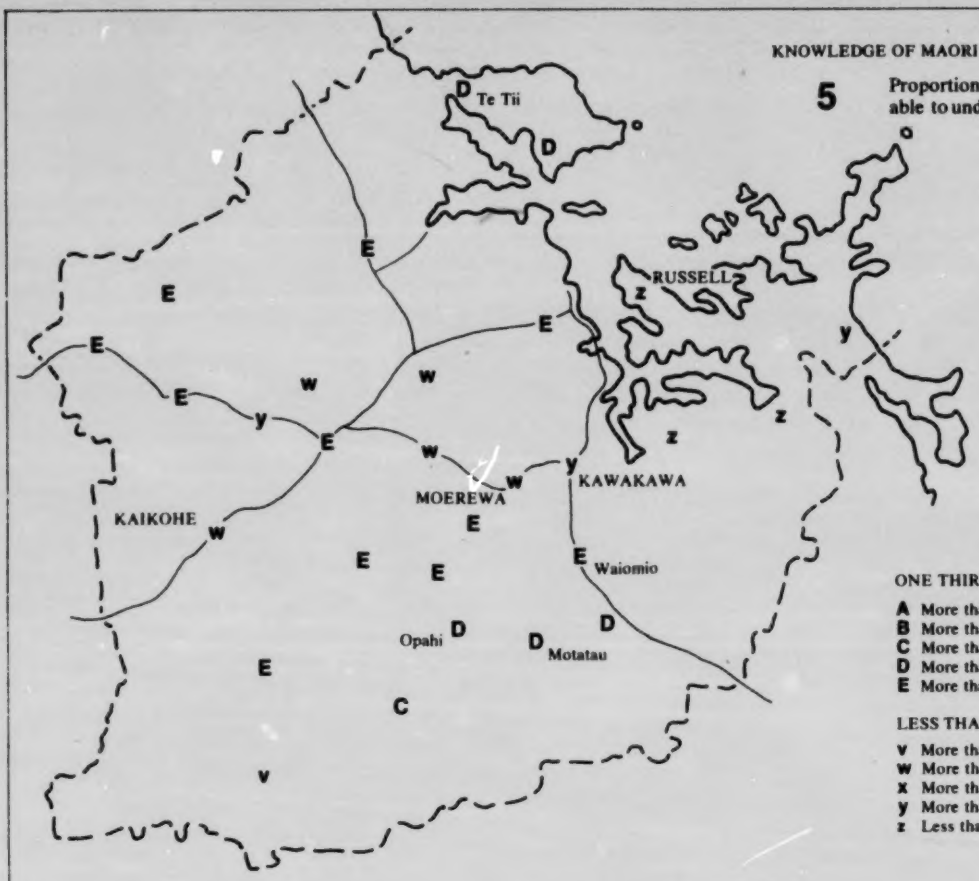
It would be hard to over-estimate the adverse influence of television on parental efforts to maintain Maori in the home. It is a pervasive medium, much harder to ignore than radio, and in many Maori homes became the first intensive contact with English outside the school. Its effects were (and are) directly felt by all the family, from the oldest to the youngest. Like the school and the neighbours, and probably much more powerfully, television in New Zealand conveys the message 'only English matters. Maori, if it has any use at all, is a language in which you can say "hello" and "goodbye".'

It is probably unfortunate that improved roading, the economic decline of rural areas and the consequent need to migrate to towns and cities, the evangelistic phase of the pre-school movement, and television, all hit the Maori speaking community at about the same time. It is just possible that they could have been contended with separately, but certainly their combined force has left many families and individuals no option but to become English speaking New Zealanders, partly or completely cut off from their linguistic heritage.

Communications and urbanization have also affected areas quite remote from immediate influence. Those areas which remain bastions of Maori language maintenance are all 'off the beaten track'. They have been able to isolate themselves, for the time being at least, from at least some of the influences which have transformed the linguistic ecology of most Maori communities. Even these areas, however, are

KNOWLEDGE OF MAORI IN THE BAY OF ISLANDS COUNTY

5 Proportion of the Maori population under 25 able to understand Maori



ONE THIRD OR MORE UNDERSTAND MAORI

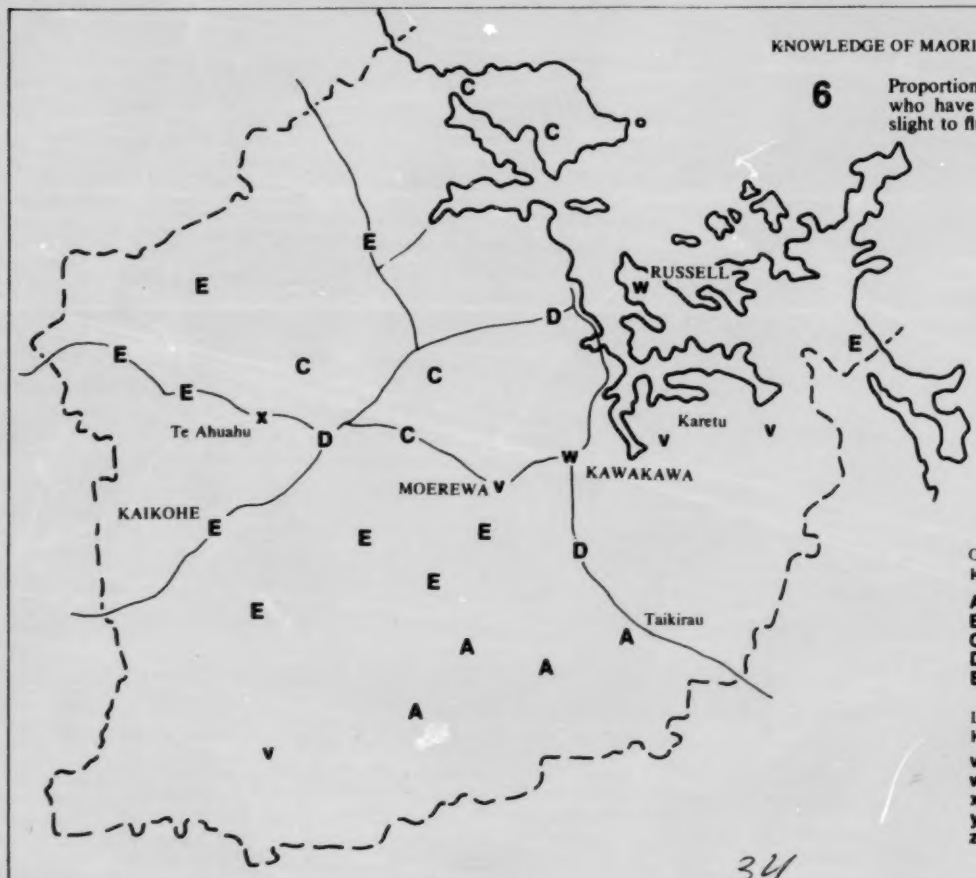
- **A** More than 54 out of 5
- **B** More than 3 out of 4
- **C** More than 2 out of 3
- **D** More than half
- **E** More than 1 out of 3

LESS THAN ONE THIRD UNDERSTAND MAORI

- **v** More than 1 out of 4
- **w** More than 1 out of 5
- **x** More than 1 out of 7
- **y** More than 1 out of 10
- **z** Less than 1 out of 10

KNOWLEDGE OF MAORI IN THE BAY OF ISLANDS COUNTY

6 Proportion of the Maori population under 25 who have some knowledge of Maori (from slight to fluent)

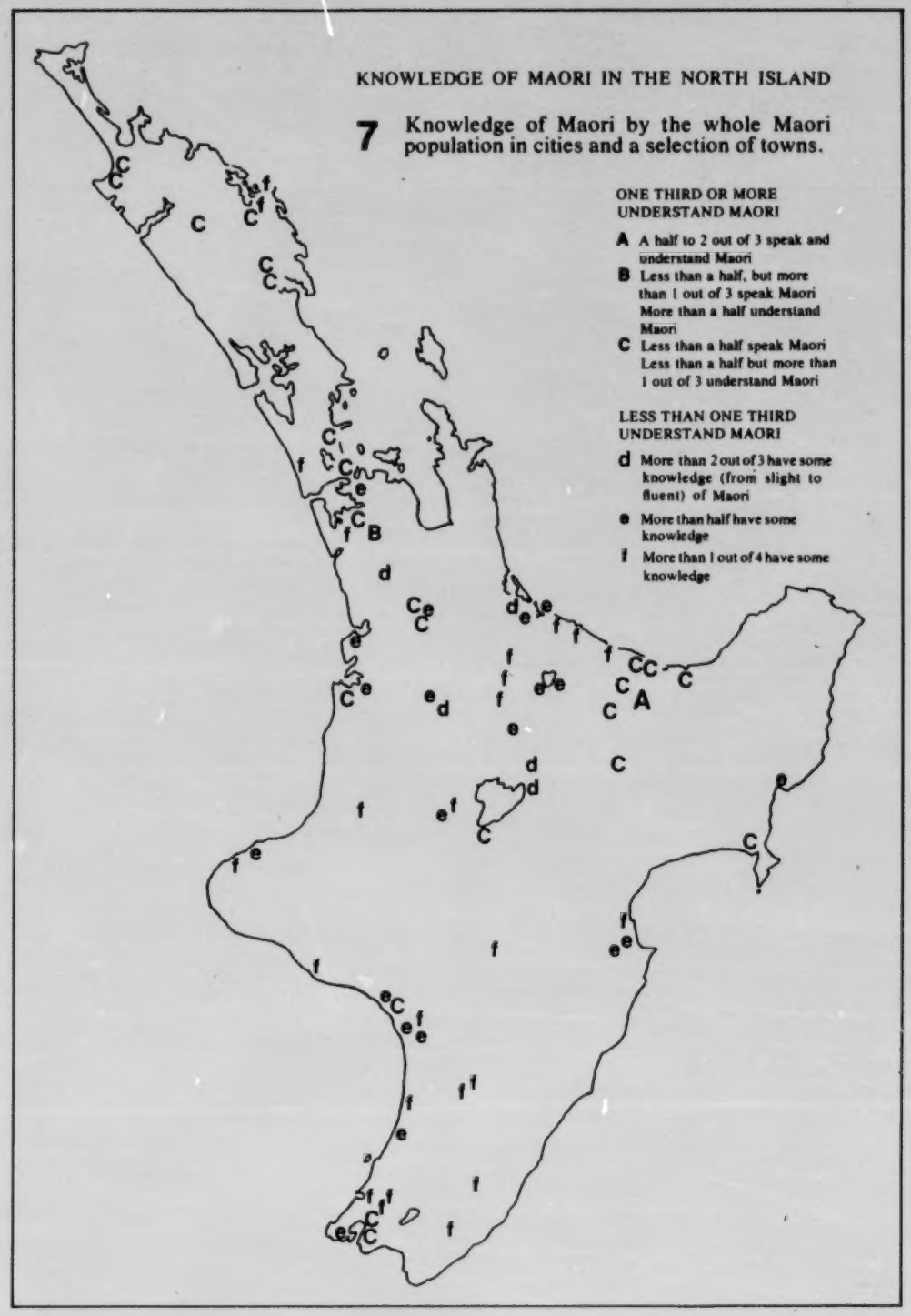


ONE THIRD OR MORE HAVE SOME KNOWLEDGE OF MAORI

- **A** More than 4 out of 5
- **B** More than 3 out of 4
- **C** More than 2 out of 3
- **D** More than a half
- **E** More than 1 out of 3

LESS THAN ONE THIRD HAVE SOME KNOWLEDGE OF MAORI

- **v** More than 1 out of 4
- **w** More than 1 out of 5
- **x** More than 1 out of 7
- **y** More than 1 out of 10
- **z** Less than 1 out of 10


KNOWLEDGE OF MAORI IN THE NORTH ISLAND
7 Knowledge of Maori by the whole Maori population in cities and a selection of towns.
ONE THIRD OR MORE UNDERSTAND MAORI
A A half to 2 out of 3 speak and understand Maori
B Less than a half, but more than 1 out of 3 speak Maori More than a half understand Maori
C Less than a half speak Maori Less than a half but more than 1 out of 3 understand Maori
LESS THAN ONE THIRD UNDERSTAND MAORI
d More than 2 out of 3 have some knowledge (from slight to fluent) of Maori
e More than half have some knowledge
f More than 1 out of 4 have some knowledge

not completely immune. Ruatoki, in the Bay of Plenty, the site of the first English-Maori bilingual school to be sanctioned within the state system since the 1880s, is a case in point. When we did field-work there in 1974, the overwhelming majority of residents at all age levels were fluent Maori speakers. In the four years since then, however, the position of Maori as the language of primary socialization in this community has probably declined. At least one of the reasons for this is the greatly increased mobility of children who live in the community. Not only are there increased contacts with English speakers where the latter are a majority — through trips to town, visits to other schools, and the transport of children to high school in Whakatane following the closure of the local District High School — but many children spend their holidays with relatives who have emigrated to Rotorua, Auckland, Wellington and other urban areas and whose households are English speaking, as far as children are concerned at least.

There is some evidence that the provision of bilingual education facilities in Ruatoki is helping to counter some of the deleterious effects of decreased isolation on

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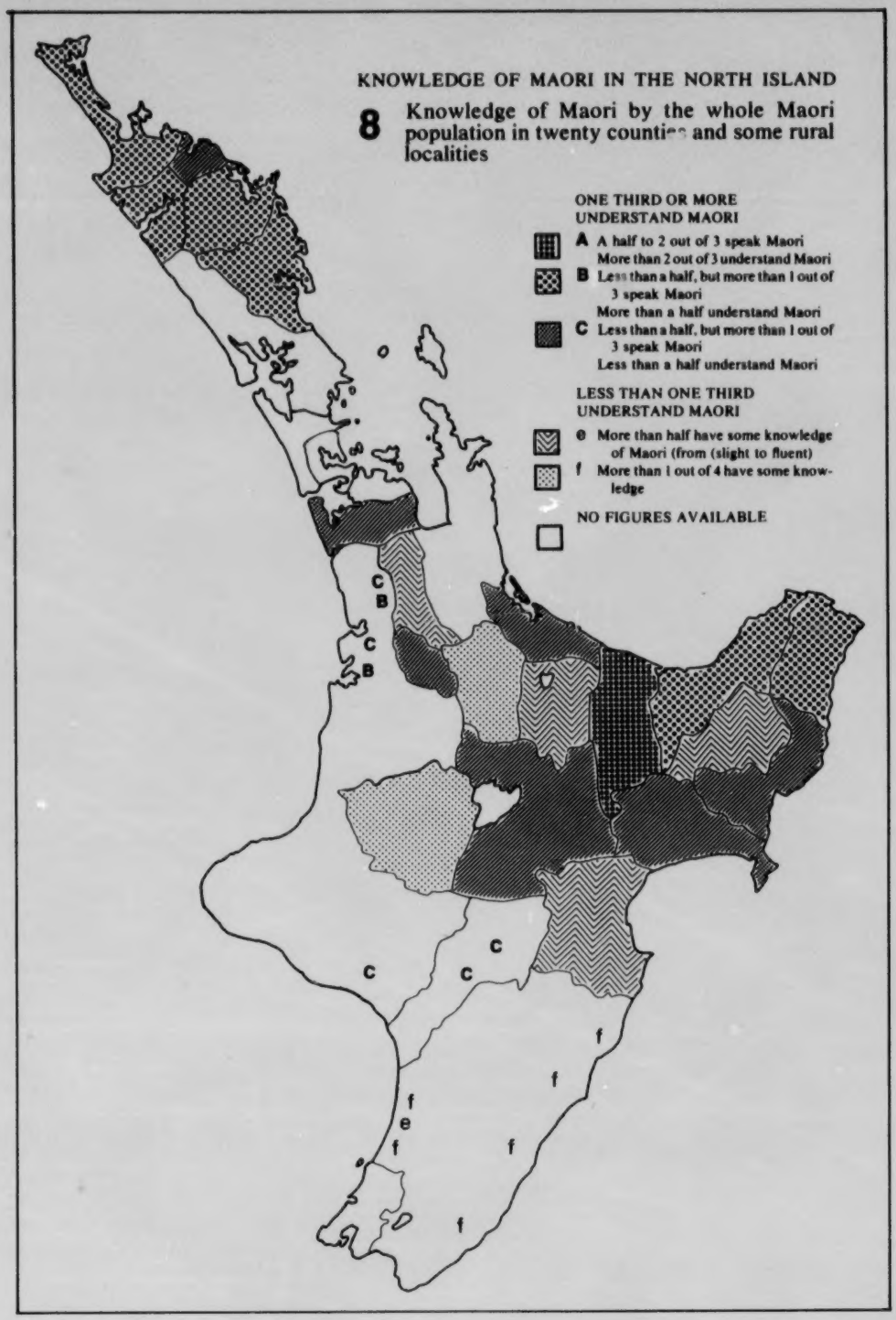
KNOWLEDGE OF MAORI IN THE NORTH ISLAND
8 Knowledge of Maori by the whole Maori population in twenty counties and some rural localities
ONE THIRD OR MORE UNDERSTAND MAORI
A A half to 2 out of 3 speak Maori
More than 2 out of 3 understand Maori
B Less than a half, but more than 1 out of 3 speak Maori
More than a half understand Maori
C Less than a half, but more than 1 out of 3 speak Maori
Less than a half understand Maori
LESS THAN ONE THIRD UNDERSTAND MAORI
e More than half have some knowledge of Maori (from (slight to fluent)
f More than 1 out of 4 have some knowledge
NO FIGURES AVAILABLE

maintenance of the Maori language. In neighbouring Matahi, however, even more remote and preserved from the ills of television by the absence of electric power, the process seems to be continuing apace. Isolation is thus not necessarily a protection, nor television a prerequisite for the conversion of a Maori speaking community into an English speaking one.

At the moment there is probably no way in which the maintenance of Maori within the community or a household can be assured. We hope that we will be able to find in our data at least indications of how some families have managed to maintain the language in the face of adverse circumstances spanning sometimes several generations. Obviously one essential factor is the frequent use of the language in adult-child communication; but this becomes difficult under modern conditions when children simply refuse to reply in the language in which they are spoken to. Grandparents are often a help, but from data we have looked at so far they have the greatest effect when the parents are not also in the household — they seem to be able to give little help when they live in urban households.

The ceremonial importance of Maori is often stressed,

and there is probably some favourable relationship between proximity to an active marae and the maintenance of the language in individual households. But outside the marae, which is still essentially a Maori place, the importance of the language is seldom recognized even by Maoris speaking on Maori matters. (A noteworthy exception to this rule would be the weekly Maori language talks broadcast by Radio New Zealand.) Professor Biggs mentions the fact that no candidate for a Maori seat in Parliament who could not speak Maori has ever been elected.[8] However, none of the present members of Parliament has, to my knowledge, even followed the example of the late Tau Henare, MP for Northern Maori, who in one of his earliest speeches began thus:

> I may be able to express my ideas in English as well, perhaps, as some members who have spoken on this important bill, but I think it is my duty to recognize that I am a Maori representative, and as such, therefore I will call for the services of the interpreter.[9]

That, of course, was 62 years ago.

Who Speaks Maori in New Zealand?

1. A majority of Maori people over the age of about 25 in the North, parts of the Bay of Plenty, the East Coast, and some other parts of the country.
2. Most people over 45 in most parts of the North Island.
3. A few young people and children in some places.
4. Most children and younger people in a very small number of rural areas.

How many people this would represent? Of the 33,638 individuals included in our survey, 8,023 were fluent speakers of Maori and 11,678 could understand the language with ease. If these figures, as they stand, were taken as representative of the national situation, this would mean that there are about 70,000 persons able to speak Maori conversationally, and another 115,000 able to understand the language with ease. These figures of course, have not been adjusted to take account of various rural/urban age, and regional biases in the samples on which they are based. However, a more thoroughly processed projection would probably give a very similar estimate.

But while this total is very impressive, it is likely to decrease markedly rather than increase over the next two decades. Approximately half the Maori population is under the age of 15 years. In our sample, only 15% of this age group were able to speak Maori. On the other hand, those aged 45 and over, only 12% of the total Maori population, accounted for 38% of all the Maori speakers.

Perhaps the fundamental problem which its speakers have to face is that the Maori language is the vehicle for a culture that is very different in some important ways from the dominant culture. It is the dominant culture that has all the institutions of political power, social prestige, and communitation. If those who control these institutions are willing to use their influence towards supporting the Maori language, rather than undermining its already precariously balanced foundations,[10] the language may yet survive to play a vital role in the life of all New Zealanders. Without it, the cultural and aesthetic life of this country will certainly be the poorer, and we will have lost an irreplacable symbol of our national identity.

Notes

1. 'The Maori Language Past and Present', p.84 in Erik Schwimmer (ed.), *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties* (Auckland, Blackwood and Janet Paul, 1968).
2. For a description of the census phase of the sociolinguistic survey of Maori households and communities see R.A.Benton, 'The Maori Language: Patterns of Use in Contemporary Maori Society', *New Zealand Speech Therapists Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 1, 1977; and *The Sociolinguistic Survey of Language Use in Maori Households*, Wellington, Maori Unit, NZCER, 1978. Additional data from the survey is reported in another paper by the writer, 'The Maori Language in the Nineteen-Seventies' prepared for the symposium 'The Future of Vernacular Languages in the Pacific' at the 49th ANZAAS Congress, also available from NZCER.
3. By townships is meant Boroughs, Dependent and Independent Town Districts, and Communities having elected community Councils (formerly called 'County Towns'). The statistics cited here are drawn from *1976 Census of Population and Dwellings: Provisional National Statistics* (1976) and Bulletin No. 3: Northland Statistical Area (1977), both published by the Department of Statistics, Wellington.
4. All the statistics concerning language are drawn from data collected in the survey of language use in Maori households (see note 2), and should be understood as referring to the samples collected during that survey. Although written in the present tense, the descriptions of the Bay of Islands County are drawn from data collected in January 1975. Field-work commenced in Whangaroa County in August 1973, and ended in Horowhenua County in June 1978. Fieldwork in Whakatane County was completed in January 1974, with supplementary investigations in the Ruatoki and Matahi districts being made in July 1977 and again in December 1978.
5. Unless otherwise defined, the word 'community' refers to Maori community, and 'population' to Maori population. 'Maori, was defined in the survey as any person claiming Maori ancestry. Prior to 1976, the Census accounts of 'Maori' population covered persons declared to be half or more of Maori ancestry. In 1976 two 'Maori' categories were introduced, the traditional 'half or more', and a second one covering all persons having a Maori ancestor.
6. See e.g., Brigette Schlieben-lange, 'The Language Situation in Southern France', *Linguistics 191*, 1977, esp. pp. 104-105.
7. Personal communication to the author from several witnesses to the event.
8. 'The Maori Language Past and Present', *op. cit.*, p. 82.
9. *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 175 (Session of May 31, 1961).
10. Some suggestions as to how policy makers could help ensure a favourable environment for the Maori language are contained in a paper by the author 'Policy Implications of Bilingual Education in New Zealand', prepared for the 49th ANZAAS congress, available from NZCER, Box 3237, Wellington.

set research information for teachers
number one 1979

Jim Gorman

Bilingual Education:

Teaching Children in Two Languages

By Carl Dodson

The renewed interest in bilingual education which began in other countries in the mid 1960s has developed only slowly in New Zealand. In 1976 the Marshall Committee expressed the view that the time was already overdue for the setting up, in carefully selected schools, of bilingual Maori-English programmes from the primary stages. Such a beginning has now been made at Ruatoki and other programmes are being planned.

To assist with public discussion of such developments the New Zealand Council for Educational Research was happy to be able to bring Carl Dodson to New Zealand as the sixth McKenzie Travelling Lecturer. His lectures and seminars were very stimulating and encouraging to those vitally interested in bilingual education, especially since he was able to point to the success of the bilingual programme in Wales where the children of English-speaking parents have, with their parents encouragement, become Welsh-speakers at no detriment to their other studies, and with great gains in their cultural and social education.

Carl Dodson was closely associated with the projects set up to foster bilingual education in Wales. He was responsible for the evaluation of the primary schools project and he directed the secondary schools project. He is now directing the preparation of materials and resources, and has written several books on bilingual methods.

The paper is adapted from 'Bilingual Education in Bilingual Areas' prepared for the 5th International Conference: Bilingual Education in Multinational Schools, Milan, Italy, November, 1978.

Bilingual Education

The Welsh Experience as it Applies to New Zealand

By Carl Dodson, Reader in Education, The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

The first problem in setting up bilingual education is social and political. Without an explicit demand for bilingual education by the speakers of the minority language, and an enlightened and sympathetic reaction by local authorities and national governments, no funds will be made available for the establishment of such a system on a regional or national scale.

When social and political problems have to a large extent been overcome, then a bilingual education system can begin developing. In some bilingual areas similar to New Zealand their bilingual education system has developed along two lines. First, there is the establishment of schools which cater for the needs of children who are still bilingual and who are able to receive their education at primary and secondary levels through the medium of the minority language. The second and complimentary approach is to establish schools for children who with their parents, speak only the dominant-language but who wish to acquire the minority language for national, social, sentimental or even economic reasons.

In the past in Wales we tried to introduce second-language learning with children at the ages of eleven and eight. We found that, in general, it was not possible for these children to reach an acceptable level of bilingualism by the time they left school. The policy is now to introduce bilingual education at the earliest possible moment. In Britain this means the compulsory school-entry age of five. Whenever possible, the process is started at an even earlier age in nursery schools and play groups.

The Schools Council, an independent curriculum development organisation, carried out two national projects in bilingual education in primary and secondary schools to develop methods and to monitor the progress of children, not only in their second-language acquisition *but also in other subjects*, such as English, Arithmetic and Mathematics, which might be influenced by a bilingual education programme.

It became clear very soon that the teaching should be based on the way a child brought up bilingually acquires his *second* language, and not his *preferred* language. The methods should certainly not reflect the way in which a monolingual child acquires his mother tongue. In the 'language bath' or 'total immersion' theory of learning the intention is to throw the pupils immediately into a sea of language in the hope of creating an immediate 'message-orientated' communicative level. Our experience has shown that in such a situation the majority of pupils drown. Furthermore, close observation of children being brought up bilingually, at pre-school level, showed that one of the two languages was always the preferred language, the other a second language. A language becomes a preferred language if:

(a) the child is able to cope with more aspects of his world in this language and;
(b) the child feels more 'at home' on a greater number of occasions in one language rather than in the other.

The development of bilingualism in an individual is an uneven growth in the status of the two languages. The learner's aim is to improve as quickly as possible his proficiency in his 'second' language. This is in order to satisfy his immediate needs in those areas of experience into which his 'preferred' language has already become fused. These needs are *non-linguistic needs*, such as resolving an uncertainty, satisfying curiosity, making predictable the unpredictable, clarifying the ambiguous, increasing pleasures, avoiding pain or unpleasantness; or more generally, solving a problem, executing an activity, acquiring knowledge, or being involved in a host of other communicative experiences which determine his thought and behaviour patterns when coping with his environment. In all these processes, language is a tool and not an end in itself.

To increase the proficiency of his second language to satisfy these needs, the child will use his preferred language as a point of reference and take a number of short cuts in his second-language acquisition:

(a) if not already offered, he will ask for the preferred-language meaning of words and phrases he cannot understand or about which he is uncertain;
(b) he will repeat to himself, or to other children, words and phrases which he has heard in the second language;
(c) he will compare and contrast equivalent meanings in his preferred and second language;
(d) he will manipulate language by permutating sentence elements in his second language, at times speaking both language versions one after the other or speaking the second-language version after having heard an equivalent preferred-language version.

All these preliminary processes, these 'practice' steps, always occur in a situational framework — in other words something is happening, whether in the child's imagination or in the real world.

You can see this type of language 'practising' constantly in bilingual homes and it was seen in the Schools' Council project when second-language learning started at the age of five. It seems that the actual real-life situation, activity or event does not afford the child a sufficient number of listening and speaking contacts to satisfy his immediate linguistic (and non-linguistic) needs.

The preliminary linguistic short cuts described above, should, themselves however, take place within a situational framework. The learner, whilst focusing on language, should derive immediate satisfaction out of the situation to which this language is attached. Teachers usually demand from their pupils responses to find out:

(a) whether the pupil can produce a second language response and
(b) whether the response is a correct one. The pupil's motivation is confined to showing the teacher (or his fellow pupils) that he can in fact make a correct response in the second language, so that unfortunately the pupil is not usually in a situation where he can satisfy most of his immediate non-linguistic needs.

It is important to recognise that, in a bilingual education programme, language must always be a tool, a vehicle for communication, and not remain an end in itself.

It is useful to make a distinction between using language and making use of language. An example of these two levels

of communication could be found in a traditional oral language lesson where pupils learn the answers to typical questions, such as 'Where do you live?' In learning to say their answers and to ask others the same question, the pupils are *using* language to show the teacher that they can in fact say the sentences correctly. This is 'medium-orientated' communication. As soon as one of the pupils re-directs this question towards the teacher (because he is curious about the teacher's place of residence) the focus of the interchange is on something other than language, and language has become a vehicle for communication. The pupil is *making-use* of language to satisfy his curiosity and so finds himself in a 'message-orientated' communicative act.

In a bilingual education programme all learning should be structured in such a way that the pupil can pass constantly from medium-orientated to message-orientated communication for every situation, activity or topic that lies within the area of experience the teacher has selected. It is important to recognise, however, that for every situation the pupil has to pass through medium-orientated communication (where his mind is focused on language) before he can reach a message-orientated level of communication in that situation.

Communication at these two levels, especially at the message-orientated level, is impossible without allowing the pupils to interact verbally, paralinguistically and non-verbally. The pupils should, therefore, not be desk-bound at all times, as this inhibits paralinguistic and non-verbal behaviour. Without all these forms of inter-action, language will never 'stick' but remain a system of almost empty symbols. This was one of the reasons why we in Wales found the introduction of a bilingual education programme so profitable at infant school level.

In Wales, as in New Zealand, school entrants receive their education through play-activities. It is through such structured 'discovery' approaches that all these forms of communicative interaction can develop and communicative competence in the second language can flourish. Children are not tied to their desks, and the various forms of communication are not merely possible but are actively encouraged to help the child in his general educational development.

There is some conflict between the grammatical progression from simple to more complex speech patterns on the one hand and what is said most often by native speakers. Some of the teacher's instructions, for example, may occur very often, be very important, but contain patterns which are extremely complex. In traditional language-learning procedures these patterns would not be taught at the beginning of schooling but would be left to be tackled in later years. In bilingual education, however, we cannot afford to postpone communicative acts of high frequency, especially if they are indispensable for some vital activity. Rather than rejecting the activity, and thus interfering with the general development of children, pupils should learn the sentences in which these linguistic difficulties occur — they belong to that activity. But they should be learnt in one form only, and not as a basis to create new sentences with new meanings. We have found that such a procedure works even for young five-year olds. They quickly learn to associate a complex pattern with given activities without being tempted to apply a wrong form of the pattern in other activities. The time will eventually come when the children reach a language level sufficiently sophisticated to tackle the more difficult yet familiar patterns in substitution and extensive work. In the meantime, however, the all-important communicative act has not been neglected.

The manipulation of language, i.e., the substitution of the various elements to create new sentences, is, of course, the most important linguistic skill to be learnt by the children. Teachers should thus ensure that their pupils receive a great deal of practice in this aspect of language work, but it should never be forgotten that this work is medium-orientated communication, even if it occurs within a situational framework. For very young children this work is the equivalent of drill exercises, though it is hidden within language games and other pleasurable activities. The aim, however, is to get beyond this point for every situation or activity so that message-orientated communication can take place, because it is only there that communicative competence can flourish.

No matter whether we are dealing with bilingual education at primary or secondary level, a great variety of resource materials is required to help pupils to focus on something other than language, especially during message-orientated communication. Project work on various topics is a way of leading pupils gently into tackling ordinary subjects in the second-language. The 'fields of interest' approach also has helped a great deal to make bilingual education possible and desirable for pupils. Each topic in a 'field of interest' is related to a topic in others. For instance, 'design' can be found in many of the fields of interest. In Space Science it is in the design of rockets and is connected with the subject Physics; in Red Indians it is in the design and patterns of Red Indian clothes, tents and totem poles and is therefore connected with the subjects Art and Craft, Dressmaking or Woodwork. Teachers are therefore free to work vertically by following the various topics in a single field of interest, or horizontally, by following a single topic, such as design, across a series of fields of interest. The way of working can be according to the needs and interests of the pupils, consequently, motivation is high. This is further aided if related printed materials are available pitched at three different levels of difficulty so the teacher can work with mixed-ability and mixed language-proficiency groups. Resource materials can range from charts, models, films, tapes and slides to geological rocks and working parts of engines. Many teachers have found a new lease of life and are constantly looking for new resource materials which they know will aid their pupils, not only in their general education, but also in their linguistic progress from medium-orientated to message-orientated communication.

This progess is also helped by role-playing, leading the pupils from role-taking to role-making through a series of steps. Each topic is supplied with a basic playlet giving pupils the opportunity to switch from medium-orientated communication during role-taking to message-orientated communication during role-making. This can be reinforced by seeking the co-operation of second-language speaking individuals outside school, from local shopkeepers to factory managers, who are prepared to receive classes on school visits. Thus any topic can be used on the one hand to improve pupils' language competence through the 'bilingual method' and on the other hand to improve the pupils' academic standards. Not neglected are the social interactions necessary for the development of bilingual individuals.

At the beginning of a programme new concepts, especially those which are crucial to the young primary-school child's proper development, should be introduced during that half of the school day when the preferred language is used as a vehicle of communication. In the Welsh bilingual programme half the day is devoted to activities in English, the other half in the second language, namely Welsh. Once a concept has been consolidated and proper concept relationships have been formed by means of appropriate activities, this concept can then be further consolidated in the second language sessions (by relating it to concepts already known in second-language terms) through new activities.

Experience has shown that even before the end of the first school year, it is possible to introduce new basic concepts in the second-language session. It was originally planned not to introduce new concepts in Arithmetic, for example, in second-language sessions until the child had reached a good command of the target language in the junior school at the age of between 8 and 10. Some teachers, however, had ventured to introduce new concepts of numeracy in the infant school without any apparent detriment to the children's development in numeracy. Controlled tests in Arithmetic at a later stage confirmed the fact that these children did not suffer any drawbacks in mathematical studies. Our caution in applying the second language only to peripheral subjects as opposed to 'academic' subjects at junior school was thus not justified. In fact, the controlled tests in English and Arithmetic, carried out with children in bilingual schools and with a carefully matched sample of children from schools where English as a mother tongue was the sole medium of instruction showed quite clearly that the bilingual education programme had no detrimental effect on children as far as these subjects were concerned. The acquisition and retention of a second language at both infant and junior school levels was thus not brought about at the cost of hindering the children's academic development. Socially the children were now able to mix with children whose preferred language was Welsh and a whole range of new social possibilities opened up for them.

It is also true to say that the new awareness found by teachers in the development of new teaching skills helped them to improve the children's general education. For the first time many teachers became really fully aware of the ways children learn and develop. Teachers came to know the best ways of presenting and interchanging activities. At the same time teachers became aware of the total range of concepts and skills which have to be developed in different types of activity. Teachers had to learn how to tackle project work dealing with a variety of topics. Without this knowledge and new teaching skills, a bilingual education programme could never develop properly.

To this knowledge about general education must be added knowledge of second-language development. Teachers must receive in-service training about the phasing of medium- and message-orientated communication, language grading, language manipulation, social interactions and the settings in which they occur, preliminary language practice, the ordering of activities for second-language acquisition, the interaction between first and second-language sessions, the satisfaction of the children's immediate needs and all the other items briefly touched upon in this paper.

It is clear that such in-service training cannot be accomplished in a few hours. It is therefore of the greatest importance in bilingual areas that teachers' colleges and universities involve themselves in the initial training of teachers for bilingual schools and that education authorities, through their inspectors and advisers, continue with in-service training throughout the teachers' working lives, encourage the interchange of ideas and the development of new techniques, providing an involvement in education which makes teaching worthwhile and rewarding.

All this work certainly pays dividends. We are now producing bilingual children who were originally monoglot English speakers, living in monoglot English areas with monoglot English-speaking parents. Many of these children are now entering, at their parents' request, Welsh-medium secondary schools where they are coping extremely well with their educational development. Others enter bilingual English-Welsh schools where they are either taught in Welsh or continue to receive the type of education they received in the primary school where part of the day is devoted to English-medium education and the other part to Welsh-medium education. Children who received their primary education totally through the medium of Welsh because they were already bilingual at the age of five, almost automatically enter Welsh-medium secondary schools.

Bilingual areas are always sensitive areas and it is vitally important that the consent and co-operation of the parents of children, especially in the experimental stages, should be sought. They must be fully informed and consulted about the educational and linguistic issues concerned. Without such parental co-operation a bilingual education programme is not likely to succeed.

I believe that parents who, after receiving and understanding all the relevant information about bilingual education, nevertheless do not wish their children to receive such an education, should be given the right for their children to opt out. You can drag this particular horse to the water as often as you like, but you will never make it drink. Instead it will upset all those other horses who wish to drink. We know of too many instances in various parts of the world where children are forced to follow a type of education with which neither the children nor their parents agree. Even initial parental indifference can quickly develop into hostility if there is no proper consultation and consent. In a school it might be possible for teachers to teach and for children to learn almost every subject found in the curriculum against the wishes of the pupils. But it is extremely difficult, and I would suggest impossible, to create a classroom situation in which a second language can be learnt effectively, to bilingual standards, without the co-operation of both pupils and parents. Learning a language is not merely the acquisition of knowledge. It is also the development of a whole range of linguistic and non-linguistic skills, all of which contribute to the child's education.

Society has to ask itself the question whether the introduction of compulsion in this field is worth the conflict and bitterness which is bound to develop and which will not help the growth of bilingualism in the slightest degree. Even if it were possible to make the reluctant or hostile pupil learn the second language there is, thank God, nothing in a democratic society which could force him to use it after he has left school. It would be a dreadful waste of resources to pressurise such children who in the final analysis would do nothing but disturb the learning process of those children eager to learn a second language through bilingual education.

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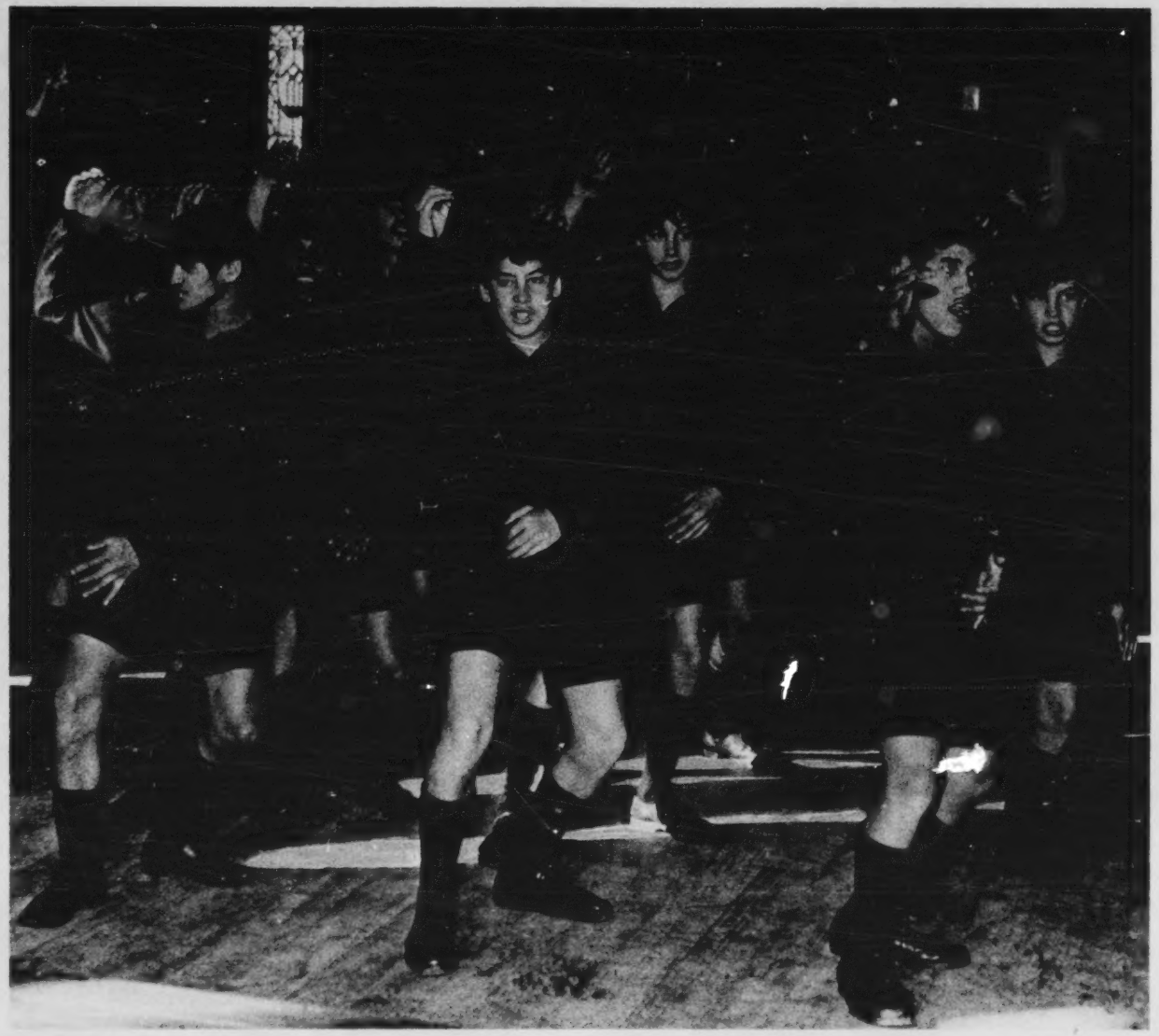

What Do Maori Children Think of Themselves?

By Peter Ranby

In 1973 Robert Havighurst, an eminent American anthropologist and educator who had worked in New Zealand previously, spent a few months talking to New Zealand educators and visiting secondary schools in Northland.[1] He had just completed a major study of the education of North American Indians, and suggested that it would be worthwhile comparing the opinions of themselves held by Maori and Pakeha secondary school students. He suggested it should be on a similar basis to a survey which he had supervised to study the self-concepts of Indian-American and Anglo-American students.[2] This idea was taken up by the Maori Research Unit *(Te Wahanga Maori)* of NZCER. The principal researcher for the project was Mr Peter Ranby, who is currently on the staff of the Anthropology Department of the University of Auckland.

In this survey of the self-concept of pupils in New Zealand secondary schools, sixty-two schools were visited and questions put to 5,100 pupils. The field-work commenced in 1973 and was completed in the first term of the 1974 school year.

The Schools

The schools were chosen to make sure that a wide range of variables were covered:

geographical location — all the major regions of the North Island were visited;
the size of the community — rural, small town, large town, urban;

the percentage of Maoris in the community;
the nature of the Maori community — from kin-based in tribal rural areas to migrant in city suburbs;
the size of the school;
the structure of the school — Form 3 to 7, 1 to 7, District High Schools; coeducational and single sex schools; state and private schools; boarding, week boarding, day, day with hostel;
the percentage of Maoris in the school — from 2% to 100%;
the availability of Maoritanga instruction — none, clubs, options, core;
the intensity of Maoritanga instruction — none, weakly supported, strongly supported, compulsory.

Sample

The aim was to give the questionnaire to all the Maoris in the schools who were aged 14 or 17 on the 1st of July 1974 and to a similar group of non-Maoris. However in some schools the teachers wanted all the Maori pupils to join in, irrespective of age, and so a sprinkling of results for 15 and 16 year-olds adds interest. Ages fourteen and seventeen were chosen to get contrasts in attitude between the 'captive' group (all 14 year-olds have to be at school) and those who had managed, or chosen, or been selected, to carry on their schooling past 15.

Who is a Maori?

In this project anyone who said he or she was a Maori was counted as a Maori. Therefore, in this survey, it is not race, nor history, nor location, nor language, which separates the groups being compared, but ethnicity. Choosing for themselves which group they felt they belonged to, was appropriate, because it was hoped to measure the 'self-concept' — the opinion we have of ourselves.

The aim was not to measure how the pupils felt they would like to be — their aspirations or ideal self.

There are research measures of aspirations, and it may be a good idea to take a look at the present research results in the light of how Maoris would like to be. A small attempt to do this is made in the conclusion.

The Measuring Instruments

1. *Socio-economic status.* The job of the breadwinner in each child's family was assigned a rank on the Elley-Irving socio-economic status (SES) scale.[3]
2. *Academic achievement.* This was supplied by the class teachers of each child involved in the survey.
3. *The 'self-concept'.* This was measured by the 'Twenty-Question' questionnaire and the 'Seven Bi-polar Adjective Semantic Differential Scale' Havighurst had used in his studies.[4] An example is given below.

The questionnaire was a small six page booklet which took about ¾ of an hour to fill in.

Background to the Results

It has been advanced in academic circles, and it is popular with journalists to claim that Maori children are 'behind' in academic success because they think-less-well-of-themselves than they should. They have given themselves a bad name, and they are living up to it. (Some people feel that the bad name has been forced upon them.) In the language of the social psychologists, they have a low self-concept, and thus, if they were doing well from the school's point of view they would be failing to be proper Maoris, since all Maoris fail at school!

Various ways of improving academic success have been suggested. The main one is that special attention should be given in schools to Maori culture; this will raise the Maori pupils' self-concept; they will expect more of themselves; and academic success will go up.

Another popular theory is that, with urbanisation, Maori children's academic success will improve — perhaps not for each individual family, but in general. A possibility suggested by Havighurst arrives at this conclusion less abruptly. He suggests that living in town will lead to smaller families, that fewer children leads to higher socio-economic status, and that higher status leads to better self-concept and that a better self-concept leads to higher academic achievement.

The research reported here has thrown light on both these theories and solutions to the problem of low academic achievement.

Are Academic Achievement and Self-Concept Related?

Yes. But . . .

Does a low self-concept cause low academic achievement or low academic achievement cause a low self-concept? There could be argument, but common sense suggests that they reinforce each other. However, the picture of the low self-concept measured in the research is much more dramatic.

Maori pupils' self-concept is on average, lower than that of comparable non-Maori pupils, namely:

(a) usually lower than that of non-Maori pupils from the same sized families;

(b) usually lower than that of non-Maori pupils from the same socio-economic groups;

(c) usually lower than non-Maoris of the same age;

(d) usually lower than that of non-Maoris in the same class at school;

(e) usually lower than that of non-Maoris of the same academic success.

There were various checks put on the statistics which produced these results. The urban and rural figures were kept apart but showed similar results. Socio-economic status is a tricky idea — a Maori small farmer moving to town often moves down the

socio-economic status scale in theory when he becomes a factory worker, although his income may rise appreciably. Generally, the self-concepts of the Maori pupils matched the self-concepts of non-Maori pupils one step 'lower' on the socio-economic status scale.

If one looks only at averages, it is not a cheerful picture. However, individual Maori pupils, like their non-Maori counterparts, were found at all points of all scales, from the lowest to the highest.

Does Urbanisation Help?

Not necessarily.

In itself it helps neither self-concept nor academic success.

When this research was done it was too soon to see the effects of 'the pill', changing female expectations, and rising unemployment, on family size. In 1974 the situation was not as Havighurst expected. Maori families who moved to the town did not have fewer children; their socio-economic status did not go up — sometimes it went down; their school-aged children did not usually have an increased self-concept; their academic success did not automatically go up. We cannot assume that increasing urbanisation will increase socio-economic status, self-concept or academic achievement, without anything else being done.

What can be done?

Does Teaching Maoritanga Help?

Not inevitably. But . . .

The results which follow have to be surrounded by quite a few warnings. You will be able to see to what extent the warnings make the results doubtful as a basis for planning. But their general message is clear: teaching Maoritanga, taken in isolation, helps self-concept and academic success hardly at all. Why this should be is not clear, but possible reasons will be attempted later.

Warnings:

1. The research was not longitudinal — it did not stretch over time —so, for example, the effect of a new Maoritanga course in a school would not be recorded.
2. Maoritanga courses had not been underway for very long in some schools.
3. If the school was aware that academic achievement was very low it may have introduced a Maoritanga course for just that reason. The existence of the course may have already lifted that 'below par' school up to 'normal'.
4. To take part in a Maoritanga course or a Maori club was in some places not a Maori thing to do — the club was run by non-Maoris or without support by local elders, for example.
5. The content of some Maoritanga courses could be poor and better courses might have better effects.

Results:

From the information provided by 5,100 pupils in 62 schools to Havighurst's questionnaire it seems likely that:

1. It makes no necessary difference to the Maori pupil's self-concept if there is no Maoritanga taught in the school at all.
2. The intensity of the instruction makes no perceptible difference to the average self-concept of those who take part. The most intense instruction is when Maori language is a core subject; the most weak would be a weakly supported after-school club.
3. There is no marked difference in the self-concept of those taking part in non-compulsory Maoritanga activities and those who do not. (One theory seems to be that if the school is nice enough to put it on for the Maoris then their self-concept will go up whether they take part or not!)
4. While some good speakers of Maori had higher marks in English than the average Maori or non-Maori student, on average, they have lower academic achievement and lower marks in English than Maori pupils who do not speak Maori. (It must be remembered that most of the Maori-speaking pupils are in remote country districts and European rural children also have lower academic achievement and lower English marks than urban children.) There was no significant difference between the self-concept of the Maori-speaking Maoris and the English-speaking Maoris.

Why Do Some School Maoritanga Programmes Bring No Obvious Benefits?

Possibly the most surprising finding is that there was no evidence that Maoritanga courses in a school enhanced the average self-concept of Maori pupils. Here are schools apparently doing their best to create the warm accepting climate recent reports have advocated. But the results are not predictable. Perhaps some schools are not places where Maoritanga can flourish — perhaps they are inimicable to it. Perhaps Maoritanga cannot be taught. Perhaps Maori pupils who participate in Maoritanga courses are helping the teachers and the non-Maoris but not gaining anything themselves. There may be something very un-Maori about discussing Maori customs with strangers. There is a sacredness about much Maori lore which 'discussion in class' could destroy. There are huge stores of legend which belong to particular places and people and are never heard outside one particular meeting house. 'Poi practice after school, Thursday' has nothing to do with such knowledge, such feeling.

But just what is self-concept? The self-concept measured in this research is that defined by the test,

and the test only. Perhaps a Maori looks at himself with quite different eyes from a non-Maori.

Perhaps there is a clue about this in the Maori words *whakaiti* and *whakahihi*. The first, roughly translated means being humble, denigrating yourself and even 'putting yourself down'; and the second, building yourself up, boasting about yourself. Maoris tend to admire people who put themselves down. Europeans are taught not to skite, but the *whakaiti-whakahihi* opposition is greater than that, it means more to Maori people. So I suggest that the difference in Maori and non-Maori self-concept, while statistically significant, is not enough to explain on its own the low academic achievement. The high value placed in Maori society on whakaiti may help.

You might like to try *this* test to see if it brings out this point.

The last part of the questionnaire had tables that looked like this:

Myself

Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	Bad
Worthless	1	2	3	4	5	6	Valuable
Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	Strong
Happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	Unhappy
Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	Active
Clever	1	2	3	4	5	6	Dumb
Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	Unfriendly

My Future

Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	Bad
Worthless	1	2	3	4	5	6	Valuable
Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	Strong
Happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	Unhappy
Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	Active
Clever	1	2	3	4	5	6	Dumb
Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	Unfriendly

Take the positive words *Good, Valuable, Strong, Happy, Active, Clever, Friendly*. Ask some Maoris and some non-Maoris to put them in the order they would be least embarrassed to say of themselves. For the Maoris of my acquaintance *Friendly* comes at the top, *Valuable* last. This is the same order as that of the mean scores of the Maori pupils in the research. It is not the non-Maori order. Don't forget to average, and not to use too small a sample!

Two Further Comments

1. It has been suggested that the problems that Maoris have with low academic achievement are the same as those of any group of low socio-economic status. If it is correct that low self-concept is one of the causes of low academic achievement this research does not support this view. Maori pupils, even when carefully matched with non-Maori pupils of a lower socio-economic status group still showed a lower self-concept.

2. The results of this research suggest that adding a bit of Maoritanga here and there to school programmes is of little worth. If Maoritanga is something that you live and not something that you can teach, then schools at which learning and teaching are done in a Maori way — active Maoritanga — could by-pass the low self-concept problem.

There are such schools in New Zealand, namely the Church schools — St Joseph's, Hata Paora, St Stephen's, Hukarere, Queen Victoria, Te Aute, Te Wai Pounamu, Turakina, Hata Petera, Church College. If we look at the results from these schools and do not let them become drowned in the averages over the whole of New Zealand it looks as if these 'positive discrimination' schools are successful. The academic achievement of their students is greater than that of equivalent Maori students at state schools, and their average self-concepts are considerably higher. In these schools being a Maori is normal, *(maori)* and being a Pakeha is atypical and remarkable. In many cases their classroom teaching methods are formal and, compared with state schools, ultra-academic.

These schools have been accepted in the past by Pakehas with equinamity, and by Maoris with pride. Have there been losses in social and racial harmony too great to be contemplated in the quest for academic success? Would more schools of this type be a bad thing?

Happily, it appears from at least one school visited in the course of the research, that a cultural mix without the loss of academic success and low self concept is possible. At a small girls' school (Church run but soon to integrate) there were both Maori and Pakeha pupils in about equal numbers. However, a conscious effort was made by the teachers to make the school at least as much a Maori place as a Pakeha place. Maori language was compulsory though the teachers were only one lesson ahead of the girls! Like the private Maori schools, active Maoritanga, not Maoritanga as an extra, was the intention. Here both academic success and self concept were high for Maori and Pakeha pupils alike.

Perhaps this is the best example of cultural pluralism yet seen in New Zealand education. The school has chosen its culture and parents have chosen its style as the one they want their children to grow up in. One hopes to see more experiments as successful as this one as more church schools integrate.

Notes

1. His visits resulted in the publication of *Anthropology and Cultural Pluralism* (NZCER, 1974) and *Future Time Perspectives and Attitudes of New Zealand Maori and Pakeha Adolescents*, (NZCER, 1973).

2. Philip H. Dreyer and Robert J. Havighurst, *The Self-Esteem of American Indian Youth*, National Study of American Indian Education Education Research Reports, vol. 1 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1970).

3. Warwick Elley and James C. Irving, "A Socio-Economic Index for New Zealand Based on Levels of Education and Income from the 1966 Census", in New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, vol. 7, no. 2 (November 1972, pp. 153-67).

4. Dreyer and Havighurst, *op cit.*

item 11

From School to What?

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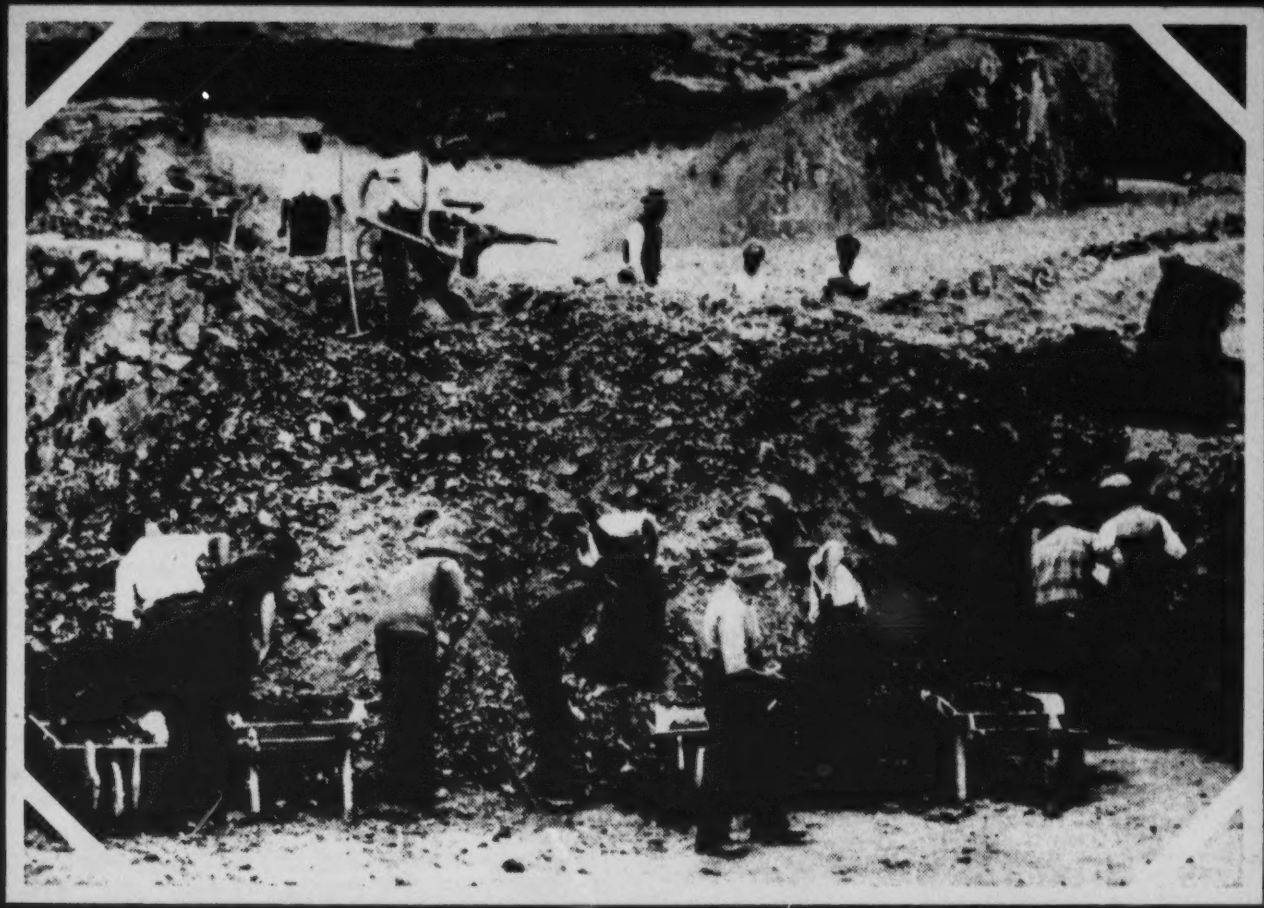

Youth Unemployment

A Review of the Situation in New Zealand

Youth unemployment has suggested the frightening image of a *Clockwork Orange* world in the eighties, with gangs of bored unemployed youths roaming New Zealand in search of excitement and loot.

Why are young people out of work? What can be done about it? What is being done? More particularly here, what does educational research know about it and what can education do?

If we count school leavers and people up to the age of 21 as being youth, the situation they face has steadily worsened. In 1975, 1,945 were registered as unemployed. In 1978, 10,753 were registered as unemployed. The tail end of the 'baby boom' will reach school leaving age this year — 1979. Then the number of school leavers will drop till 1981, then rise again till 1984. Then there should be a steady decline in the numbers leaving school. Evening out the fluctuations, New Zealand needs 22,500 new jobs each year to keep employment, and unemployment, at its present level.

The reasons suggested for youth being unemployed are many. Some are clearly true; others of doubtful and unknown validity.

1 There are More Young People About. True as far as it goes. But a few years ago all these youngsters and thousands of immigrants would have been welcomed by employers.

2 There is a General Recession. True. However, young people are taking more than their fair share of unemployment. Labour Department statistics are for the under 21s, whilst census statistics are for groups 15 to 19, 20 to 25 and so on. However, avoiding this confusion, the Labour Department carried out a special survey in 1978 and discovered that the under 20s make up 16% of the working age population but make up 40% of the unemployed.

3 Married Women Compete for Jobs. Between 1971 and 1976 the full time labour force increased by 11%. However, the number of women working full time grew by 16%. In the same period the number of women working part time grew by 40%. Married women returning to jobs for which they have trained may be preferred to young people who have had no training, for example, clothing machinists. They may be preferred by employers for their steadiness and good attitude to work. However, their effect on youth unemployment is only conjectural.

4 Young People are Too Highly Paid. It is true that young labour has become more expensive, compared with older workers, than in the past. But it is unknown if this is a factor in youth unemployment in New Zealand. Australian data suggests that it is true there.

5 Technology Has Put the Young out of Work. New Zealand appears to have no statistics on this problem. A survey of employment agencies in Wellington by the churches' Inner City Ministry, in January, found that especially among larger employers, office staff was being replaced by office technology. This hits at school leavers with middle level qualifications, especially girls. Some firms prefer expensive equipment to union troubles, and (at union insistance) re-train staff and do not hire new young labour. The 'silicon chip' controlled machinery of the near future will further extend this trend.

6 Schools are not Fitting Young People for the Jobs Available. This has been a major cry from overseas studies. This quotation from an International Labour Office official information bulletin is, happily, not very true of New Zealand.

> Schools are becoming increasingly selective and competitive . . . This constant siphoning off of the gifted and motivated youngsters leads to a devaluation of all others. They go to general and vocational schools where educational levels are also devaluing. . . When the youngsters leave them they are confronted with a strange world of labour which requires skills, knowledge and behaviour they have not acquired. . . Unprepared for the work game many youngsters feel they face a stacked deck. This leads to apathy, stress, drifting and other social problems.

However, the 'back to basics' movement is partly a declaration that pupils have not been properly prepared for work. Employers want children who are not only educated so that they have an urge to enquire, a concern for others, and self respect, but who also have qualifications in the particular trade, techniques, and methods appropriate to the work that they will be doing.

So the evidence is mixed and inconclusive. Most of the explanations seem to have some bearing on the problem. Consider the alternatives — it would be strange to say that married women, or technology, or the economy had **no** influence.

There are three main solutions offered and education plays a part in all of them.

1 Increase the number of jobs available.

2 Decrease the number of people looking for jobs.

3 Improve the quality of the labour force.

Solution 1

Increase the Number of Jobs.

This is already being done under 'job-creation programmes' in New Zealand. In and around schools, community facilities, social projects and government departments it is being done with more social realism, than the digging-holes-and-filling-them-in of the

1920s. One high school board is delighted that projects in the grounds previously shelved as too expensive are now going ahead and will make the school a more educational place. However, most people do not want to see this situation continue. A bouyant economy and a rising standard of living are still goals for New Zealanders. These goals, economists tell us, require a restructuring of New Zealand's economy. New industries, new types of farming, new services, new markets and new trade patterns are needed. To make these changes new skills have to be learnt, skills as varied as the handling of radioactive material, and speaking Asian languages. So, new education is also required. What sort of education it should be, where it should take place, and who should pay for it, these are all subjects for debate.

For youth, attempts at structural changes in New Zealand's economy do not promise much in the short term. Even encouraging industries through increased spending power (when wages rise or tax cuts are made) does not necessarily mean that young people will get the new or revived jobs. Special schemes which encourage industries in which young people are employed are a possibility. What industries would do this in New Zealand, how should they be encouraged, and how they would survive has not been extensively studied. Such schemes have been tried with success in Britain, Holland and West Germany. They have the advantage that they put young people in new jobs rather than shifting unemployment to other parts of the population.

In the 1930s the way out of the depression included the stimulation of the economy by job creation by the government. Public works such as re-afforestation, hydro-dams and state housing were the most obvious examples. Teachers and government departments would clearly like to see more people employed in their fields. For example, smaller classes, more resources and extra ancillary staff are needed to teach in the best way possible. And these are clearly ways of creating jobs. Our modern depression is, however, coupled to inflation, and the Government hesitates to increase the government's wage bill and so the amount of money in circulation. The special work programmes since 1965 have been mainly concerned with evening out seasonal unemployment. And the Temporary Employment Programmes have also been used in this way.

Solution 2

Decrease the Number of People Looking for Jobs.

Australian academics are worried that with stable or falling student numbers, new staff will not be required till the year 2001. The present staff will sit on their jobs till retirement, getting steadily older and stuffier. Government departments will no doubt be facing the same problems. Private enterprise has prided itself on its ability to push out the incompetent. But nowadays many jobs are dependent on one another and so the unions are strong. Wholesale sackings are not easily done, even should they be desirable! Teachers are amongst those not keen to give their employers easy ways to cut down staff.

The only current suggestions seem to be flexible or early retirements. It does shift unemployment to those best able to bear it. However, a youth on the dole drains less money from the privy purse than an early retired headmaster!

Education for retirement has begun. Evening institutes have long provided 'hobby' classes and their 'academic' classes have always contained many learners who are retired folk enjoying companionship and keeping their minds lively. Radio New Zealand's Continuing Education Unit produced a radio series on preparing for retirement *After Fifty What?* and 17,000 of its accompanying booklet *(Stepping Out Towards Retirement)* were printed. If the state encourages early or flexible retirement, provision of further education for recreation, rather than retraining, should be included in the plan.

Solution 3

Improve the Quality of the Labour Force.

Training schemes to improve the job skills of the young exist in all countries. New jobs must be created at the same time or they merely shift the burden of unemployment to other groups. However, industries **should** run more efficiently with better trained people. Therefore, provided that the training is appropriate, this task (one which secondary schools would seem able to undertake) is worthwhile.

Schools may be able to step in to overcome the 'double bind' many young unemployed are in — they lack experience which might attract a prospective employer, so they fail to get the job that will give them just that.

Further, the pattern of unemployment is by no means even. Firstly there is a geographic unevenness with unemployment much higher in some areas than others. Secondly, there is an unevenness of job vacancies — although the number of unemployed carpenters is high there is a shortage of toolmakers and maths teachers. Schools should be able to adjust their courses and encourage their pupils to take account of these blocks and gaps. And any restructuring of the economy to encourage new industries, markets and products will, of course, require some restructuring of education, even if only curricula and teacher supply.

Along with the problem of too few jobs for unskilled workers there can also be the problem of too many highly skilled people. Unemployed lawyers were a feature of 1977. Few of them would have been happy as filing clerks of which there seemed to be a shortage in many offices. The young boy who goes back to school because there are no jobs available may finish up with school certificate passes which give him a job over his younger rival, but a job below

his qualifications. Now neither he, nor his rival, are happy. The graduate replaces the technician, the technician the tradesman, the tradesman the semi-skilled, the semi-skilled the labourer. These people are now UNDERemployed. The effect is called **brahmanism** or **creeping credentialism.** A survey of unemployment agencies in Wellington in January by the Inner City Ministry revealed that UE was now required by many employers where SC had been sufficient before, with SC passes required for the most routine jobs. This effect is depressing to teacher morale too. Teachers in developing countries know the feeling that they are making their students unemployable by increasing their qualifications. Now this feeling is known in New Zealand.

Notes

Most of the statistics quoted in this article are from the New Zealand Department of Labour, and most of them from the *Labour and Employment Gazette.* This quarterly publication is a mine of information and very useful resource material for secondary schools. A year's subscription is $2, paid to Head Office, Department of Labour, Private Bag, Wellington. Vol. 27, No. 4 (Dec. 1977), Vol. 28, No. 1 (March 1978) and Vol. 28, No. 3 (September 1978) have been particularly useful. Discussion with the Department of Labour Research Unit helped get the statistics in perspective.

The writing of this article was stimulated by an article in the *Times Educational Supplement* of 1.12.78, 'For the Lack of a Job' by Nicholas Barr and Gillian Hutchinson, both lecturers in economics in London. Readers of the *TES* will recognise some of the similies, but the statistics and the conclusions are different.

Married women compete. . . The number of women returning from domestic duties to teaching has in fact dropped, from a high of 752 in 1967 when there was a big recruiting drive to attract them back, to 407 in 1977. Department of Education statistics.

Technology and youth. . . The Inner City Ministry in Wellington has workers who are not concerned directly with the 'usual' church activities such as parish life and old-people's homes. Housing, fair rents, transport and city redevelopment, concern them as much. The results of their surveys are usually announced as press releases. However, they have a most interesting booklet *Unemployment and the Right to Work* by Michael Smith director of the ICM and John l'Estrange of the Student Christian Movement (20c from the ICM, Box 6133, Te Aro, Wellington) which mentions it's survey and others.

Schools not fitting students for work. . . The quotation from the ILO has already appeared in *The New Zealand Economist* of April 1977. The results of Carol Cameron's research in this *set* show that her school leavers who had no qualifications did not find the transition to work too difficult or unsettling. But many school guidance counsellors feel otherwise.

Increase the number of jobs. . . In New Zealand the Labour Department looks after jobs and special job creation schemes — 'relief work' was the old fashioned term. The Social Welfare Department looks after unemployment benefits — 'the dole', was the old fashioned term. Encouraging new industries is in the hands of the Department of Trade and Industry, and the Development Finance Corporation. Education is in the hands of the Department of Education. Re-structuring the economy is in the hands of private enterprise, encouraged by the Government through legislation, taxes, incentives, subsidies, benefits, import controls, publicity and so on. Inter-departmental committees are the New Zealand way of co-ordinating these responsibilities rather than a special ministry of unemployment.

Encouraging industries that employ youth. . . See the *Labour and Employment Gazette*, especially from Vol. 27, No. 4 on, for overseas action.

Australian academic staff. . . This picture of stable stuffy staff is painted in *Education News* Vol. 16, No. 6, p. 10. This is the Australian *Education News* which is issued free to all Australian Schools. It is lively and also an extremely attractive publication with content lying between the New Zealand *Education* and *set*. Subscriptions are A$6 for six issues post free from Mail Order Sales, Australian Government Publishing Service, P.O. Box 84, Canberra, ACT 2600, Australia.

Radio New Zealand programme. . . Copies of the 8 quarter-hour programmes on retirement *After Fifty What?* are available from the National Film Library, Box 9583, Wellington. Send two blank C60 cassettes and a self-addressed manilla envelope of sufficient size with a 14 cent stamp. Copies of the booklet *Stepping Out Towards Retirement* are available free from the Radio New Zealand Continuing Education Unit, Box 2092, Wellington.

One Hundred Early School Leavers

By Carol Cameron and Ian Livingstone

Introduction

In September 1974 Carol Cameron began a longitudinal study of how the vocational plans of early school leavers developed, and how they coped with the transition and adjustment to work. The sample consisted of one hundred young people, ranging from fifteen to seventeen and a half years of age. They were all fifth form students, all in one or other of five co-educational secondary schools in the greater Wellington area, and all definitely intending to leave school by the end of the year. In the opinions of their teachers, they were all very unlikely to pass more than one subject in the School Certificate examination at best. The initial data were collected in interviews (using both a structured interview schedule and a questionnaire.) In June 1975, six months later, a questionnaire was mailed to each of them to collect information on their experience in their first few months of work. Three years later a further follow-up questionnaire was sent out to find out how they had progressed.

Stage One: Anticipation

Attitudes

Nearing the end of their final school term, the pupils expressed a strong desire to leave school and begin work. This was equally true for boys and girls. Only 16 percent of the group expressed any apprehension at all about the transition. This may reflect the fact that unemployment of school leavers was not a national problem in 1974.

Preparation

All had decided to leave school, but over a quarter had not made up their minds about what they wanted to do. The boys had given their future occupation more thought: 15 percent of them were uncertain, but 40 percent of the girls were uncertain.

Jobs Sought

The range of intended occupations was quite wide. Most of the boys were hoping to begin apprenticeships in the construction or motor industries, while most of the girls were intent on becoming typists, machinists, or clerical assistants. Half had been interested in their intended job for over two years, the boys for longer than the girls. Forty-one percent of the girls had become interested in their intended occupation only within the past year, 22 percent of the boys similarly.

Guidance

Each secondary school employed a full-time Guidance Counsellor qualified to give academic, personal and vocational advice. However, less than half of the sample had seen the Guidance Counsellor for any reason at all during the year. And these pupils had already made the decision to leave school, and would do so within a few months. It is not surprising, then, that 70 percent were not aware of what the Guidance Counsellor felt about their staying on at school or finding a job; 80 percent had not asked their teachers for advice either. Further enquiries disclosed that only 62 percent of them had received any information at all from a 'formal' source. (Table 1)

Table 1: Formal Sources of Occupational Information

Source	Boys %	Girls %	Total %
Guidance Counsellor	32	24	28
Advertisements & Brochures	13	15	14
Vocational Guidance Centre	6	9	7
Teachers	6	2	4
Employers, Work visits	9	4	7
Other: industry representatives, etc.	2	2	2
No formal source	33	44	38
Total	100	100	100
Number	54	46	100

Summary

The general attitude of these young people towards finding employment was an optimistic one. Sixty-two percent of the sample felt that there were good opportunities for people leaving from the fifth form. Yet, their knowledge of occupations other than the one they intended to take up themselves, was very limited. Only a quarter of them could name a range of possible opportunities, another half could name just one other occupation; the rest were unable to name any. At this stage in the year, just over half of them had a definite place of work in mind, and about the same number had made enquiries of possible job opportunities to employers.

Stage Two: Participation

When the June '75 questionnaire was sent out, members of the group had been at work from one month to seven months. The majority, however, were in their fourth or fifth month. Sixty-four percent had been successful in obtaining the job they had considered to be their first choice, but just over 20 percent had changed their job since entering the labour force.

Finding a Job

Over half of both the boys and girls (55 percent of each) had applied for only one position. Yet it was the girls who found the greater ease in obtaining employment. (Table 2) It is significant that 35 percent

said they had obtained their job entirely through their own enquiries. Twenty-five percent had had the assistance of a family member, another 12 percent the assistance of a friend, and another 8 percent were helped by someone else in the job.

Table 2: Ease in Obtaining Employment

	Boys %	Girls %	Total %
Very easy — no problems at all	26	71	46
Fairly easy	35	18	27
Not too bad	17	8	13
Fairly difficult	15	—	8
Very difficult	7	3	5
Total	100	100	100
Number	46	38	84*

* Eighty-five of the 100 replied to the follow-up questionnaire, but one had become a full-time student at a technical institute.

Further training

It is significant that only 5 of the girls took up work requiring further 'off-the-job' training. Most of the others chose jobs of a clerical nature, being employed as typists, machinists, key-punch operators, clerical assistants or similar. Twenty-seven of the boys, on the other hand, embarked on apprenticeships, or other positions involving some type of further training programme.

Staff Relations

Although most of the young people were not working with others of their own age group, 79 percent found their co-workers good to get along with. A similar percentage also found their boss to be helpful. While 6 percent found their job very difficult to learn, most found no trouble with this. Interest in the job at the time of the follow-up was also extremely high, with only 3 percent not finding it at least moderately interesting.

Job Satisfaction

It came as something of a surprise, considering popular folk lore and news media reports, to see how satisfied these young people appeared to be with their jobs. Only 8 percent expressed any dissatisfaction with the hours they worked; 21 percent expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of pay they were receiving.

Special parts of their jobs, (e.g., 'working on sports cars' or 'operating the switchboard') seemed to arouse the greatest sense of satisfaction. But 11 percent of the boys mentioned gaining qualifications as what they enjoyed most about their job. No girls, however, mentioned this, but one-third of the girls mentioned their fellow workers as the most pleasant part of their job, and another third mentioned the atmosphere of their work place. These two latter aspects did not rank high with the boys.

In addition to such specific questions, the Hoppock Job Satisfaction Blank (1935) was used to obtain an overall measure of the degree of satisfaction of these young workers with their employment. With the possible scores ranging from 4 to 28, the mean score of this sample was 20.3. Results from one of the four questions which go to make up the scale are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Attitude Towards Present Job, 1975

	Boys %	Girls %	Total %
I hate it	—	—	—
I dislike it	—	3	1
I don't like it	2	—	1
I don't mind it	17	8	13
I like it	44	37	41
I am enthusiastic about it	28	26	27
I love it	9	26	17
Total	100	100	100
Numbers	46	38	84

The Right Move

It is also significant that after having been away from school at least six months, the great majority of these so-called 'early leavers' feel they had made the right decision. Only 10 percent said they had regretted leaving school, and another 10 percent were perhaps beginning to have doubts. Just over half actually found work to be better than they had expected, and nearly 90 percent were not contemplating changing their job at present.

Vocational Guidance

Generally, they felt that they had received sufficient information about the world of work. But, judging by the sources stated, it would seem that this information was just about the particular occupation they had in mind, rather than broad-ranging, and came via an informal network of contacts, rather than through formal guidance channels. Only 18 percent felt that there was enough assistance given at schools for pupils to find the type of employment they desired. This finding reads curiously alongside the fact that so few of these young school leavers had taken advantage of the opportunities for guidance which were open to them at school.

Summary

For the early school leavers in this study, work (at least the first six months of it) appeared to be a very satisfying experience. Although they had entered the labour market reasonably uninformed and with little formal guidance, their optimism was justified. The great eagerness of these young workers, who had previously enjoyed little academic success at school, the ease with which they had found the job of their first choice, and the novelty and interest which their work had for them, all seem to be components in their high degree of satisfaction.

Stage Three: Development

After a painstaking search for up-to-date addresses, by telephone and letter, a follow-up questionnaire 'Your Work Experience' was mailed in June 1977 to as many of the original 100 students as could be traced. Completed questionnaires were eventually obtained from 70 (41 boys, 29 girls) who were still in full-time employment some three years after the first follow-up.

Changing Jobs

Since leaving school, 11 of them had had more than two jobs, but 39 (56 percent) were still in their first job. Clearly, the employment patterns of these early school leavers are not as unstable as some might imagine. It should be remembered of course that 14 who answered the first questionnaire did not reply to the second, and these young people might have eluded the tracing procedure because they had changed addresses, and perhaps jobs, more often. There was no tendency for the girls to have moved more often than the boys, although more of them were in jobs not requiring off-job training, or involving such ties as an apprenticeship agreement.

The 31 young people who were not now in their first job recorded a great variety of reasons for leaving it. About one third of these could be described as negative reasons, such as poor work conditions, difficulties with management, and so on, but most of the rest did not seem to stem from specific dissatisfactions. Such things as marriage, promotion to a position involving skill training (such as an apprenticeship), overseas travel, and simply the wish for a change were some of the major ones.

Three girls who were contacted had left work because they had married and had a baby; one continued to work occasionally for her former employer. Only one young man had ever been unemployed, and that over a period of 4 months during the summer of 1976-77 when a dairy became overstaffed through a drop in business. Thus, out of the total follow-up sample of 70, 66 had been in continuous employment or full-time study over the entire period covered by the survey.

Further Training

The proportion of boys continuing in apprenticeships was almost exactly the same as it was three years before (59 percent); a few had dropped out, a few more had entered apprenticeships. Twenty-three out of the 41 boys had obtained some form of recognised qualification since leaving school, generally one or more of the various qualifying examinations on the way to a Trade Certificate. One was currently an adult student at secondary school, and working part-time weekends. Very few girls were currently undergoing any sort of training, and only 7 out of 29 had obtained a vocational qualification since leaving school.

Work Environment

This group of young people continued to show a high degree of interest in their work, or at least claimed that they did; they were also obtaining an increased amount of help on the job and showed an increased level of satisfaction with their hours of work since mid-1975. Now only 19 percent were dissatisfied as against 29 percent when they were first employed. They were slightly less enamoured about their pay than in those first euphoric months out of school, but still basically happy. Over three-quarters of them, boys and girls alike, were at least 'fairly satisfied' with their wages.

The girls obtained their chief satisfactions from their relationships with their fellow-workers and from their surroundings and both boys and girls enjoyed the increasing variety in their work. Chief irritations were sub-standard work conditions, and chores which these young people now saw as demeaning.

Yet overall job satisfaction remains high, as the figures in Table 4 indicate. There is undoubtedly some moderation of the initial feeling of exhilaration at being away from school and out in a job, as shown by the move away from the more effusive end of the scale into the 'I like it' category. But very few are prepared to say that they actively dislike work.

Overall scores on the Hoppock Job Satisfaction Blank remain extremely high for both boys and girls, with an insignificant decrease from 20.3 to 19.3 over the three years between the first and second questionnaires. There is no sign of unrest here.

Table 4: Attitude Towards Present Job, 1977.

	Boys %	Girls %	Total %
I hate it	–	3	1
I dislike it	5	3	4
I don't like it	–	–	–
I don't mind it	10	17	13
I like it	60	45	54
I am enthusiastic about it	18	7	13
I love it	8	24	15
Total	100	100	100
Numbers	40	29	69

Looking Back

One interesting change which has taken place over the three years is a shift in the attitudes of these young people towards their school experience. An increased proportion (17 percent) now have some regrets about leaving school when they did, and 61 percent of the boys and 79 percent of the girls claim that if they had their time at school over again they would study more. And yet very few of them indicated any regrets about the various jobs they have had since leaving school, although over a quarter of them would have liked more help in finding the work they wanted.

Conclusion

The results of this study suggest that labour market conditions are an important over-riding factor in determining the job prospects and satisfactions of young people leaving school, irrespective of school qualifications obtained. The transition to work seems to have been relatively painless for this group of Wellington young people, even though they lacked formal paper qualifications. There was a relatively buoyant labour market in 1975 when they began work. They have had a few passing regrets to be sure, but generally have not found jobs difficult to get or keep, nor have they had a history of dissatisfaction and excessive job movement. The boys, particularly, have taken full advantages of opportunities for further training.

It is probable that the down-turn in the New Zealand economy since 1975 has altered this rosy picture, but clearly leaving school without formal qualifications is not necessarily disastrous for young people if they are able to find suitable employment.

Note

This brief account has merely touched the surface of a large quantity of information which has been gathered on these 100 young people. A more substantial report is in preparation.

Some teachers, counsellors or school principals may wish to do a little follow-up research on the success which their own school leavers have in finding work and in their reactions to it.

In item 12 is a selection of questions drawn in large part from the first follow-up questionnaire mentioned above. With a few modifications and some additional questions designed to cater for young people who are unemployed or who have continued to further full-time education they might form a useful basis for a small-scale school-based survey.

Job Scarcity in the Bay of Plenty

A Survey of School Leavers in the Rotorua/Bay of Plenty Area and A Follow-Up Sample of These Leavers One Year Later.

Early in 1975 a questionnaire survey of 4000 fifth, sixth and seventh form pupils from all 18 secondary schools in the Rotorua/Bay of Plenty area was undertaken to provide information to assist in planning a community college. The main aim of the survey was to identify the training and courses which might be provided for future school leavers by a community college. The results of this survey were analysed in May 1975 and have been included in the 1975 Departmental Report, *A Community College for the Rotorua Area.*

The survey was carried out at the start of the school year and as the students were likely to change their minds about their vocations, two further studies were undertaken. The first was a questionnaire survey of all pupils from the same schools who left during the twelve months ending February 1976. The questionnaire was completed by pupils on leaving. It sought information such as level of schooling and qualifications completed, reasons for leaving, vocational intentions, study or training to be undertaken, factors influencing decisions to move within or to outside the region, and interest in attending a community college if one existed in the area.

The third phase of the survey is the follow-up of a sample of the leavers 12 months after leaving, to discover their actual destinations.

A report based on the data from the three studies has been prepared by Helen Norman of the Research and Statistics Division of the Department of Education, and is available from the Department of Education, Private Bag, Wellington. The following is a small part of that report.

Unemployment

Characteristics of the Unemployed

Several questions in the follow up survey were related to the topic of unemployment. The first asked whether, since leaving school, respondents had ever been unable to work because they could not find a job.

Table 11.1 Unemployment (percent)

	Male	Female	Total	Pakeha	Maori
Ever unemployed	20	36	29	21	40
Never unemployed	80	64	71	79	60
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Numbers	352	416	768	501	201

Twenty-nine of the leavers had been unemployed at some time since leaving school. The proportions of females (36%) and Maoris (40%) who had been unemployed was much greater than the proportion of males (20%) and Pakehas (21%).

Differences in socio-economic status
Those whose fathers had jobs with high socio-economic status were less likely to have been unemployed — 22% of those from 'levels 1 to 3' and 35% of those from 'levels 5 and 6' had been unemployed at some time.

Form on leaving
The unemployment rate was higher for those who left from lower forms — 45% of third and fourth form leavers had been unemployed, 30% of fifth formers, twenty-three percent of sixth formers and 6% of seventh formers.

Length of Time Unemployed

The last question on unemployment asked those who had ever been unemployed how long altogether they had been out of work. Almost a third had been unemployed for more than 12 weeks of the year the survey covered, 27% for seven to twelve weeks and 27% for three to six weeks.

Table 11.3 Length of time unemployed (percent)

	Male	Female	Total	Pakeha	Maori
Less than 1 week	5.6	0.7	2.3	2.8	1.3
1 or 2 weeks	19.7	9.0	12.6	12.0	15.6
3 to 6 weeks	28.2	25.7	26.5	35.2	16.9
7 to 12 weeks	16.9	31.2	26.5	25.9	32.5
More than 12 weeks	29.6	33.3	32.1	24.1	33.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Numbers	71	144	215	215	77

Females and Maoris tended to have been out of work for longer periods than males and Pakehas. There was no consistent trend with socio-economic level. Those who were in higher forms were less likely to have been unemployed for a longer period of time — 45% of third and fourth formers had been unemployed for more than 12 weeks compared with 30% of fifth formers and 21% of sixth and seventh formers.

Respondents with higher qualifications were less likely to have been unemployed for more than 12 weeks — 21% of those with Sixth Form Certificate subjects or University Entrance, 26% of those with School Certificate subjects and 40% of those with no qualifications.

Those who left within two months of turning 15 were more likely than the others to have been out of work for more than 12 weeks (41% compared with twenty-four percent).

Table 11.2 Number of times unemployed (percent)

	Males	Female	Total	Pakeha	Maori
Once	73	69	71	71	71
Twice	18	21	20	24	17
Three times	6	6	6	4	6
Four or more times	3	4	4	1	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Numbers	71	146	217	107	78

A higher proportion of males (73%) than females (69%) had been unemployed only once. Pakehas were more likely to have been unemployed twice while Maoris were more likely to have been so three or more times.

The proportion who were unemployed three or more times increased from 6% of those from 'level 1' and 'level 2' to 20% of those from 'level 6' backgrounds.

Form, qualifications and age on leaving
The proportion who were unemployed only once increased with form-on-leaving (from 63% of fourth formers to 76% of sixth formers), qualifications (from sixty-eight percent of those with no qualifications to 76% of those with Sixth Form Certificate subjects or University Entrance) and age (from 62% of fifteen year olds to 78% of 17 year olds).

Number of jobs since leaving
As expected, the number of times a respondent had been unemployed increased with the number of jobs they had had. Seventy-two percent of those who had had three or more jobs had been unemployed at least once.

Qualifications
The unemployment rate also decreased with qualifications — 37% of those with no qualifications, 26% of those with one or more School Certificate subjects, 22% of those with Sixth Form Certificate subjects or University Entrance and 3% of those with Higher School Certificate or Bursary had been unemployed during the year after leaving school.

Age
Unemployment was greater among younger school leavers. Forty-seven percent of those leaving within two months of turning 15 had been unemployed, thirty-three percent of other 15 year olds, 25% of 16 year olds, 24% of 17 year olds and 16% of 18 year olds.

Time of Unemployment

Those who had been unemployed were next asked whether this happened when they first left school. Sixty percent of both males and females who had been unemployed at some time said they could not find a job when they first left school. Two-thirds of the Maoris and half the Pakehas who had been unemployed were in this category.

Number of Times Unemployed

Of those who had been unemployed, 71% had been so once, 20% twice, 6% three times and 4% four or more times.

Summary

Females, Maoris and those who were in lower forms, had fewer qualifications or were younger, were more likely than others to have ever been unemployed. The same groups tended to be unemployed more often and for a greater length of time.

Coping When You Leave

A Teaching Programme for Secondary School Pupils

Rob Bedford, a teacher at Queen Elizabeth College, Palmerston North, designed a course for lower ability 5th formers to help them with finding employment, facing unemployment if that should be their lot, and to give general information about the effects of the recession.

The course had nine units and took about 5 weeks.

Unit 1 gave the present unemployment position in New Zealand with unemployment figures analysed.

Unit 2 concentrated on how and where to get a job.

Units 3 and 4 dealt with registering for work with the Department of Labour and for the unemployment benefit with the Department of Social Welfare.

Unit 5 explored the causes of unemployment.

Unit 6 dealt with the functions of work, and lead on to

Unit 7 on the effects on the individual of prolonged periods out of work.

Unit 8 was on the attitudes of the pupils to the unemployed.

Unit 9 was on how to cope with unemployment psychologically and socially.

Evaluation

Before running the course Rob Bedford pre-tested four classes, two of average ability, and two of limited ability. He asked the pupils what knowledge they had about unemployment with such questions as 'How old must you be before you qualify for an Unemployment Benefit?' He also gave two short tests of their attitudes to unemployed people, and to unemployment in general. The pupils were asked to say how close their feelings were to the ones given by completing such items as the following:

> Put an x on the line that is the closest fit to how you feel about unemployed people in general.
> Smart _____ Stupid.

Two of the classes were then given the nine unit course. One was an average class, one was slow. The other two classes, which were not given the special course, acted as control groups.

After the course all four classes were given the questionnaire and the attitude tests again and the scores were examined for significant differences.

Results

1. A comparison between 'growth scores' for the two average ability classes on the factual knowledge questionnaire showed that instruction did make a difference to their knowledge. But this result must be treated with some caution since the students were not randomly assigned to the classes, and there was already a significant difference between their mean scores before the course began.
2. A similar comparison on the factual knowledge questionnaire between the two below-average classes revealed no significant difference. This result was severely influenced by the scores of two pupils affected by upsetting home circumstances; their post-test results were substantially lower than their pre-test scores.
3. Results from the attitude measures were inconclusive, and point up the extreme care needed in constructing and validating such instruments.

The course was an experiment too. It proved too long and too boring for the slower pupils. They said so. Rob Bedford has, therefore, modified the course, and will use units 2 and 8 quite separately in future. He also remarked that the attitude test that he used was not easy for the pupils, who found many of the adjective pairs very ambiguous. However, both average and slower pupils thought the unemployed more unlucky than lucky, more unhappy than happy, more uncomfortable than comfortable, more unsuccessful than successful, more unfortunate than fortunate. These adjective pairs proved to be a very good basis for discussions.

Conclusions

This well thought-out evaluation of a new course relies on statistical techniques as well as common sense. The result is clear; this particular course does not significantly help the children who are most at risk. However, the course can now be modified; some of the units gave rise to good lessons; the attitude tests are in themselves good discussion material.

Rob Bedford is very willing to let other teachers see the course material, much of it culled from newspaper reports, Labour Department statistics, and case studies, and to pass on information about co-operative unemployment support groups.

item 12

set research information for teachers

number one 1979

RESEARCH YOUR SCHOOL'S VOCATIONAL EDUCATION EFFECTIVENESS

Research Your School's Vocational Education Effectiveness

A school which wishes to do more than make an intelligent guess at how well it is preparing its pupils for their working lives, and the transition to work, may find many of the questions Carol Cameron asked a good basis for a postal questionnaire, or even Social Studies field work.

These questions were all prepared for school leavers who got jobs, not for those going on to further education, nor for the unemployed. Questions should be recast, new questions invented, especially questions which ask about local employment opportunities, and so on.

Some branching will be needed, e.g., 'If you are unemployed tick this box [ ] and go straight to question 30'. NZCER would be most interested to hear the results of any such surveys carried out.

INSTRUCTIONS

Please answer the questions on the following pages:

EITHER by ticking [✓] the appropriate boxes
OR by writing in the spaces provided

Name _____
(surname) (first names)

1. What is your present job? (Give the sort of work you do and the type of business or industry you work in, as in the examples below.)

		Occupation	Employer
Example	(1)	Builder's labourer with	construction firm
	(2)	Apprentice motor mechanic with	service station
	(3)	Office clerk with	insurance company

My job is _____ with _____

2. Are you serving an apprenticeship or taking part in some other training programme for your work?

No, not at present [ ]
Yes, apprenticeship training [ ]
Yes, other training programme [ ]

(please state) _____

3. Is this your first full-time job since leaving school?

Yes [ ]
No [ ]

4. Is this job your first choice - that is, is this the job you wanted to do most?

Yes [ ]
No [ ]

If not, please state your first choice

_____

5. In which month did you begin your present job?

Before Nov.	[ ]
Nov.	[ ]
Dec.	[ ]
Jan.	[ ]
Feb.	[ ]
Mar.	[ ]
Apr.	[ ]

6. How many other jobs did you apply for before getting this one?

None	[ ]
One	[ ]
Two	[ ]
Three	[ ]
More than three	[ ]

7. When did you *first* apply for your *present* job?

While still at school	[ ]
Within a week after leaving school	[ ]
Between a week and a month after leaving	[ ]
More than a month after leaving	[ ]

8. How easy was it for you to get it?

Very easy - no problems at all	[ ]
Fairly easy	[ ]
Not too bad	[ ]
Fairly difficult	[ ]
Very difficult	[ ]

9. How did you get your present job?

Through Father	[ ]
Mother	[ ]
Brother	[ ]
Sister	[ ]
Other Relation	[ ]
Friend	[ ]
Guidance Counsellor or Careers Adviser	[ ]
Teacher	[ ]
Advertisement	[ ]
Vocational Guidance Centre	[ ]
No one	[ ]
Other *(please state)*	[ ]

10 How much help or training were you given when you *started* your present job?

A great deal	[ ]
Quite a lot	[ ]
A little	[ ]
Not very much	[ ]
None at all - learnt by myself	[ ]

11 How much help or training are you given on the job *now*?

A great deal	[ ]
Quite a lot	[ ]
A little	[ ]
Not very much	[ ]
None at all	[ ]

12 How difficult has the job itself been to learn?

Extremely difficult	[ ]
Very difficult	[ ]
Fairly difficult	[ ]
Not very difficult	[ ]
Not difficult at all	[ ]

13 How interesting do you find your work?

Extremely interesting	[ ]
Very interesting	[ ]
Fairly interesting	[ ]
Not very interesting	[ ]
Not interesting at all	[ ]

14 How happy are you with the hours you work?

Extremely happy	[ ]
Very happy	[ ]
Reasonably happy	[ ]
Not very happy	[ ]
Not happy at all - don't like the hours	[ ]

15 How happy are you with the pay you get?

Extremely happy	[ ]
Very happy	[ ]
Reasonably happy	[ ]
Not very happy	[ ]
Not happy at all	[ ]

16 What things in particular do you like about your job?

_____

17 What things in particular do you dislike about it?

_____

18 How useful have the things you learnt at school been to you in your job?

Extremely useful	[ ]
Very useful	[ ]
Fairly useful	[ ]
Not very useful	[ ]
No use at all	[ ]

19 Do you now wish you had taken any different subjects at school?

Yes	[ ]
No	[ ]

If so, please state which ones:

_____

_____

20 If you had your time at high school over again, what would you do out of the following?

Definitely study more	[ ]
Probably study more	[ ]
Study about the same	[ ]
Probably study less	[ ]
Definitely study less	[ ]

21 Have you any regrets about leaving school when you did?

Yes	[ ]
No	[ ]
Uncertain	[ ]

22 Before deciding on your first full-time job, how much information did you obtain about the work?

A great deal	[ ]
Quite a lot	[ ]
A little	[ ]
Not very much	[ ]
None at all	[ ]

23 Where did you get this information from?

_____

24 After starting work, did you feel the information you obtained gave a true picture of what was involved in the job - that is, how correct was the information?

Completely correct	[ ]
Mostly correct	[ ]
About half correct	[ ]
Not very correct	[ ]
Not correct; misleading	[ ]
Didn't obtain any information	[ ]

25 How much is your job like you expected it to be?

Exactly	[ ]
Mostly	[ ]
A little	[ ]
Not very much	[ ]
Not at all	[ ]

26 Is the job better or worse than you expected it to be?

Much better	[ ]
A little better	[ ]
About as I hoped	[ ]
A little worse	[ ]
Much worse	[ ]

27 How is it different from what you expected?

_____

_____

_____

28 Do you feel there is enough help given at school for young people these days to find the work they want?

Yes	[ ]
No	[ ]
Uncertain	[ ]

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Who Doesn't Get to Pre-School in Newtown?

By Penny Jamieson

Newtown is an inner city suburb of Wellington. It is one of the oldest areas of the city and it is now, in contrast with its past, one of the poorest. People living there tend to be those whose jobs place them at the lower end of the socio-economic status scale.[1] In recent years it has become one of the areas in Wellington in which migrants from many different countries have made their homes. Twenty-three different languages were identified during the survey reported in this article.

Children from such areas are less likely to attend a pre-school than are children from middle class areas. Whether this is because places are not available or because parents are unwilling to send their children is not always clear. But there has been a concern to increase the number of places available and so increase the number of children attending. The British Educational Priorities Area programme was designed to correct the distribution of pre-school services to enable facilities to be provided for children from poorer areas. In the United States, the Headstart programme had similar aims.

In New Zealand we need to look carefully at the distribution of pre-school services. There have been two major contributions to our understanding of the problems. In 1970 an overall survey of the pre-school educational scene appeared in the *Report* of the Committee of Inquiry into Pre-school Education set up

3-year-old and the 4-year-old age group, the children with fathers in the higher socio-economic groups[7] were more likely to attend pre-school than were children with fathers in the lower socio-economic groups.[8] Eighty-five percent of those who did not go to a pre-school were from homes of low socio-economic status. Furthermore, when the attendance of children from the various ethnic groups was related to their socio-economic status, we found that:

45% of the Pakeha children with low SES fathers were non-attenders

60% of the Maori children with low SES fathers were non-attenders

89% of the Pacific Island children with low SES fathers were non-attenders

50% of the Greek and Asian children with low SES fathers were non-attenders.

So there were nearly twice as many Pacific Island children than Pakeha children of low socio-economic parents who were non-attenders.

When considering these results, it must be remembered that more Pacific Islanders than Pakeha children had fathers of low socio-economic status. These factors do not, therefore, suggest that low socio-economic status Pacific Islanders are a particular group who miss out on kindergarten, but rather, that low socio-economic Pakehas find access comparatively easy. Low class status is clearly less of a handicap for Pakehas than it is for Pacific Islanders.

Younger Children

One of the particular difficulties that mothers may face when taking their children to pre-school is the necessity for coping with younger children. It is perhaps not easy for a mother to commit herself to taking her babies and toddlers out regularly, whatever the weather, to accompany an older child to pre-school. But we found that in Newtown, mothers with younger children were just as likely to send their 3- and 4-year-olds to pre-school as were mothers without younger children. However, we again noticed a difference between the ethnic groups. Among mothers with younger children, the Pakehas were more likely to send their children to pre-school than were mothers from other ethnic groups. Of the children at pre-schools who had younger brothers or sisters, 61% were Pakehas. It would seem that the pressure of younger children is a less serious handicap for Pakeha mothers than it is for mothers from other ethnic groups.

Recent Mobility

Newtown is a suburb with a large number of migrants. In fact 44% of the parents interviewed had lived there for less than four years. Previous research and the reasons given by some of the parents we spoke to, had led us to expect that new residents would be less likely to enrol their children at pre-school than would parents who were more settled in the area. But this was not so; there was no significant difference in the numbers of children attending between parents who had lived in the suburbs for less than four years and those who had lived there for four years or more. Among the new arrivals, Maori parents were the least likely to have enrolled their children. On the other hand, although only 36% of those who were settled were Pacific Islanders, 49% of the mothers who had lived in Newtown for 4 years or more and who had not enrolled their children at pre-school were Pacific Islanders. This reflects the general difficulty that Pacific Islanders have in getting their children to a pre-school.

Isolation

Newtown is a suburb where many different people come to live, many of them for a comparatively short time. They come from many different parts of the world and they represent a variety of ethnic groups and have many different languages. It would be scarcely surprising if many people felt isolated and co-operated very little with their neighbours. Indeed we found that the majority (71%) of the mothers did not have any friends available for occasional child minding. Many of our interviewers felt that the mothers they spoke to were lonely people with few friends. They felt too that it was through friendship with other mothers that women learnt of the local pre-schools, especially the kindergartens. The more isolated mothers, since friends, neighbours and relatives are an important source of local information, were less likely to be aware of what pre-school facilities there were in the neighbourhood. We found that at the 3-year-old level that if the parents had no friends few of their children went to pre-school —76% did not attend. Of the parents who had friends, only 56% of their children did not attend. This effect was, however, much less noticeable among the 4-year-olds.

We expected too that the non-Pakehas would be more isolated than were the Pakehas. Although the various ethnic groups were put together (for analysis) into four categories they are not all the same. A Greek is not likely to have much in common with an Indian and a Tongan may just as seldom speak to a Samoan. The Pakehas alone were likely to be culturally and linguistically the same. We looked at the families where the mothers had no friends available for child minding. We found that at each age level there were more Pacific Islanders not going to a pre-school than any other ethnic group. Conversely, at each age level there were more Pakehas attending then for any other ethnic group. It is easier for Pakehas and Maoris and Asians who have no friends or neighbours willing to mind their children to get their children to pre-school, than it is for Pacific Islanders who are similarly placed. A lack of local contact is a more significant obstacle to pre-school for Pacific Islanders than it is for Pakehas.

Chance not Choice?

A chance circumstance —low socio-economic status, young babies, or isolation —is not by itself likely to keep a mother from enrolling her child at pre-school. But when any one of these circumstances occur in a family with a mother from the Pacific Islands, the chances of them exerting a strong pull against pre-school enrolment are greatly increased. This pull seems to be stronger for mothers from the Pacific Islands that from any of the other ethnic groups living in Newtown.

Asking for reasons was difficult. In the first place the

in 1970 by the Minister of Education.[2] In 1975, David Barney contributed a much more detailed analysis of the situation in his study entitled *Who Gets to Pre-School.*[3]

Barney found that in New Zealand the distribution of pre-school facilities is reasonably uniform. Both low socio-economic status areas and high socio-economic status areas have about the same number of places available. However, he also found that fewer children from low socio-economic status families get to the available institutions. Waiting lists are generally much shorter in low socio-economic areas, indicating, Barney concluded, that non-attendance is primarily because parents choose not to enrol their children. Why should this be so? Barney's explanation is that parents in low socio-economic status suburbs are either not interested in having their children attend pre-school, or that they are put off by the complicated waiting-list procedures that many institutions run.

Other researchers have identified other factors. In a study of Newlands, a high socio-economic status suburb of Wellington, Anne Meade found that parents who had recently moved into the area were less likely to have obtained pre-school places for their children than were parents who had lived there for several years.[4] Howard and others studying a state housing area found the same. They also reported that parents living in the state housing area often wrongly assumed that there were long waiting lists so they had made no approach to their local pre-schools.[5] These are all factors that could well apply to Newtown, being, as it is, a low socio-economic status area. However it is also a multi-ethnic area, and an area in which many different languages are spoken. In Australia, de Lemos and Larsen have found that proportionally a lot more children from English speaking backgrounds attended pre-schools than children from non-English speaking backgrounds.[6] Studies tell us nothing about the children who stay away from pre-schools in such areas. Who are they? And why don't they go? The research reported here goes some way to answering these questions.

The Research Programme

The research was carried out in 1976 in conjunction with members of the Department of Sociology and Social Work at Victoria University, and was part of a larger study of child-care arrangements for the pre-school population of Newtown. A saturation survey of the Newtown school area was organised by the school committee. All the 3- and 4-year-old pre-school children were identified, and the mother or surrogate mother of each was interviewed in their home. There were 165 children. All the interviewing was carried out in a ten-day period at the end of June and the beginning of July 1976. Interpreters (Greek and Samoan) were used where necessary and interviewing proceeded without any major hitch. Perhaps our greatest problem was the weather.

For our research we grouped the mothers ethnically, as follows:

Pakehas (New Zealand born Europeans; Australians, Canadians, British...)
Maoris
Pacific Islanders (Samoans, Cook Islanders, Tongans and Niueans)
Greeks and Asians (South Europeans, Asians, and any non-Pacific Islanders)

Pre-schools in Newtown

There were in Newtown, at the time this survey was taken, two free kindergartens, one playcentre, two small community playgroups and three day-care centres. One of the kindergartens had two rolls of 40 each and the other had two rolls of 25. The teachers of both kindergartens were well aware of the difficulties in recruiting in a multi-ethnic area and were struggling to overcome these difficulties. The playcentre was at the time, struggling hard in inadequate premises. It in fact closed down a few weeks later, although it has since re-opened. One of the playgroups was run by the Plunket Society on one morning a week only, and one was held in a church hall on Mount Victoria about half a mile outside the area and operated for two mornings each week. Both were primarily intended as places where mothers could meet and relax while their children experienced something of play with a group of children larger than that encountered at home and in their neighbourhood. These were primarily social in aim for both mothers and children.

The kindergarten accounted for most of the places that were available. Thirty-seven percent of the 3- and 4-year-olds attended one or other of the two kindergartens, the day-care centres catered for only 11% and the community pre-school groups catered for only 7%. Over half, 54% of the children, went to no pre-school group.

Who Doesn't Go?

42% of the Pakeha 3- and 4-year-olds
65% of the Maori 3- and 4-year-olds
70% of the Pacific Island 3- and 4-year-olds
48% of the Greek and Asian 3- and 4-year-olds

So the Pakehas use pre-school services the most, closely followed by Greeks and Asians. Maoris and Pacific Islanders use the pre-school services least. Only 30% of Pacific Islands children in Newtown get to pre-school.

Why Don't They Go There?

We looked at factors that might be linked to why parents do not send their children: (1) socio-economic status; (2) the pressure of younger brothers and sisters in the family; (3) the number of years spent in Newtown; (4) the degree of isolation of the mother. We were particularly interested in whether any of these factors could help explain why there was such a variation in attendance between the different ethnic groups. Asking for reasons came later.

Socio-economic Status

In socio-economic status, Newtown is a relatively homogenous neighbourhood; around 77% of the fathers work in manual or semi-skilled jobs. So this factor was not expected to differentiate the pre-school attenders from the non-attenders. But at both the

question implied that if there was a reason for non-enrolment, that reason should be a good one. The previous questions had asked for information about attendance. So it was, in practice, quite difficult for the interviewers to make their tone non-threatening. It soon became evident that many mothers had no particular reason for their child's non-attendance. They had never made a conscious decision not to send the child to pre-school, and if they did offer a reason, they were rarely confident that it was a good one. Some mothers offered quite complex explanations, as the comments of our interviewers reveal.

"Confusion of responsibility —child minded by grandmother who says mother will decide."
"Child minded by relative who couldn't cope."
"Respondent's mother had a road accident and so respondent doesn't like to take her daughter to kindy."
(She was afraid of pedestrian road accidents).
Some mothers were unable or unwilling to give a reason:
"Hasn't thought about it —no real reasons —thinks it's important but just hasn't got around to it yet."

There was a general indecisiveness and no single reason predominated. Positive disapproval by the mother was given as the main reason in ten cases, (11%). But the number of mothers of the 4-year-old non-attenders who claimed that they disapproved of pre-school was more than twice as high as the number of mothers of 3-year-olds who made a similar claim. The mothers of the 3-year-olds have time to change their minds. It is possible that the mothers of the older children felt more defensive and their attitudes had hardened by this time.

A number of mothers reported difficulties of one sort or another but many, in fact, had not attempted to enroll their children. It was quite common for these mothers to report that they had heard that the kindergarten was full and that there was no point in trying. Only one mother reported that she had no knowledge of pre-school services. For the most part the parents were willing for their children to attend, so extra publicity about the value of pre-school education is probably not likely to make much difference. Indeed the majority of the mothers of those children who did not attend any pre-school would be quite willing for their children to go —if their circumstances had been different.

How different would those circumstances have to be?

What Next?

Our research suggests several impractical changes to circumstances: if the socio-economic status of everyone in Newtown was raised, if all the families took up European ways exclusively, if all the families were smaller, then the number of children attending pre-school would probably rise.

However, one practical suggestion can be made on the basis of the research. If mothers were less isolated, if they had more friends, and in particular had more friends who already had children at pre-school, then they would be much more likely to send their children along, and join in where appropriate. This particularly applies to Polynesian mothers. They are the least likely to have children attending, they are the most lonely and isolated, the ones with the fewest friends who already have children at pre-school. Also they are the people whose culture is most people-oriented, to whom personal contact means most, much more than notices, well meaning invitations, and publicity drives. And once they have been personally introduced to a pre-school, they will make more friends and in turn be able to introduce others to the pre-school. Nothing should succeed like success.

One kindergarten had a short waiting list, the other had none. So there were places for some of the children who do not attend. However, some more pre-schools would have to be started to make a place for every child. Any move to do so would be a golden opportunity to investigate the possibility of encouraging a type of pre-school which was not large and institutional, and very much in keeping with the multi-cultural character of the area.

Footnotes

[1] See Elley, W.B. and Irving, J.C. "A Socio-economic Index for New Zealand...." New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, No. 7, pp.153-167. The use made of this is discussed in, Jamieson, Penelope A.B. "Who doesn't get to pre-school in Newtown?: Full Report" unpublished paper (Wellington, NZCER, 1977)

[2] Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Pre-school Education (Hill Report) (Wellington : Department of Education, 1971)

[3] *Who gets to Pre-school? The Availability of Pre-school Education in New Zealand* (Wellington : NZCER, 1975)

[4] Meade A. *An Organisational Study of the Playcentre and Free Kindergarten Movements in New Zealand*, PhD Victoria University of Wellington, 1978

[5] Howard, A.M.M., J.Johnstone and P.McGregor "The Reasons why Parents do not send their children to pre-schools" Unpublished paper (University Extension, Massey University) 1975

[6] M. de Lemos and P.Larsen "Supplementary Discussion on Pre-school Attendance and School Achievement" unpublished paper.

[7] Elley W.B. and J.C.Irving "A Socio-economic index for New Zealand based on levels of education and income from the 1966 cencus" *NZJES*, 11 p.153-167, 1972. Scale 1, 2, 3.

[8] Ibid Scale, 4.5.6.

The twenty-three languages identified during the survey were

Bengali	Chinese	Cook Island
Dutch	English	German
Greek	Gujarati	Hindi
Hungarian	Japanese	Maori
Malay	Niue	Polish
Rumanian	Russian	Samoan
Singalese	Tongan	Turkish
Ukranian	Yugoslav	

Young People and Alcohol

Historical Note

In December 1977, the Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council invited the New Zealand Council for Educational Research to accept the responsibility for a national survey of the knowledge, attitudes and use of alcoholic beverages by young people of intermediate and secondary school age. This request arose from discussions between the senior officers of NZCER and the Education Committee of the Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council, chaired by Dr W.H. Cooper, and this committee has been associated with the enquiry in all stages of its planning and execution.

The general direction of the project has been in the hands of Mr I.D. Livingstone. The design and pilot testing of the questionnaire, the extensive field enquiries in 85 schools throughout the country, and the subsequent analysis and the preparation of reports has been undertaken by Ms Mary Routledge, as project officer, assisted by Mr Alan Taylor. The summary to follow has been prepared to ensure that the major findings of the survey become available quickly to all interested parties. This booklet will be followed by a more comprehensive monograph setting out in greater detail the information assembled, and how it was collected. It is hoped that this will become available in the spring of 1979.

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Young People and Alcohol

Results of a National Survey of School Students: A Summary Report

By Mary Routledge

New Zealand Council for Educational Research

Background

Alcohol use is a fact in our society, and so are the alcohol-related problems that it creates. The economic and social costs involved — pressure on hospital and medical services, loss of productive man-hours, marriage breakdown — to name only some of the more obvious, are now widely recognized. And so is the need for effective strategies for reducing the effects of alcohol misuse.

Two approaches to the latter problem are apparent. The first is to make adequate provision for the kinds of facilities and services needed to deal with the end results of alcohol misuse. The second is to try to reduce the level of alcohol misuse in the community. This approach involves the employment of preventive measures. As far as prevention is concerned, adolescence is one of the critical periods in the formulation of attitudes and behaviour in relation to alcohol use. Accordingly, it seems appropriate that preventive approaches should concentrate on young people with the aim of creating a greater awareness of the implications of alcohol misuse, and of promoting concepts of moderation in the use of alcohol. In order to plan educational programmes for this purpose, it was considered necessary to obtain an up-to-date assessment of the nature and extent of student drinking and attitudes towards alcohol. It was with this objective in mind that the present study of young people and alcohol was initiated by the Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council and carried out on its behalf by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Objectives of the survey

To a considerable extent, our knowledge of school-age drinking has been based on supposition and conjecture, much of it related to the occasional event which receives news media publicity because of its sensational nature. Such information can provide only a distorted view of the real situation in an area which is of concern to parents, schools and students themselves. One of the important aims of the survey was therefore to determine the extent of alcohol use among young people and the nature of their drinking patterns and behaviours. In addition, it was considered important in terms of possible educational approaches to explore students' reasons either for drinking or non-drinking and to determine some of their attitudes about alcohol. There were also some more general questions, such as whether changes in behaviour and attitudes are apparent as students progress through the school.

Specifically, the research was designed:

to obtain information about the age at which young people first experience alcohol, and the circumstances in which this occurs;

to obtain reports from students on their frequency of drinking, and how much they drink;

to identify contexts in which youthful drinking occurs;

to investigate reasons for adolescent alcohol use, and conversely, reasons for non-drinking by young people;

to determine non-drinkers' perceptions of the social pressure to drink;

to provide some measure of student and parental attitudes towards the use of alcohol by young people.

Research sample

The target population consisted of all Form II, Form IV, and Form VI students attending state and private schools in New Zealand in 1978. The sample was drawn in two stages. First, schools were randomly selected; second, samples of students were randomly selected from within each school. The sample plan involved selecting 40 schools at each form level, and obtaining a final sample of 25 students from each school, to produce a sample of 1,000 students at each form level — a total of 3,000 students.

Questionnaire and administration

A 16-page anonymous self-report questionnaire, developed and validated in a pilot study, was administered to students during normal school hours. The questionnaire was designed to be completed within one school period of 40 minutes, and the same instrument was used at all form levels. One fieldworker carried out the majority of the administrations throughout New Zealand during the second school term of 1978. School teaching staff did not participate in the questionnaire administration.

Information was given by 2976 students from a total of 85 schools. The number of schools participating included 5 schools which were added to supplement those schools with fewer than 25 students at the selected form level. The main characteristics of the students in the study are shown in Table 1.

Weighting

In this sample the numbers of students from each form did not match the proportion found in schools, where Form II and IV students usually outnumber sixth formers. To make the results properly representative, all total percentages were weighted. The weighting process meant that the answers of Form II and IV students contributed more to the total than did those of the Form

VI students. This was roughly equivalent to reducing the number of sixth formers in the sample.

The resulting weighted total percentages more adequately represent the school population which was surveyed than would unweighted figures. However, the weightings do not mean that the results apply to students in any forms other than those which were sampled. Also, since weighted total percentages are an average, they should always be considered in the light of the sometimes considerable differences between forms.

Table 1 Characteristics of students in the sample

Characteristics	Form II	IV	VI	Total
Number of students	990	996	990	2976
Sex				
Female	436	490	484	1410
Male	546	496	500	1542
Not Known	9	11	4	24
Age				
11 years	12	—	—	12
12 years	554	—	—	554
13 years	385	7	—	392
14 years	16	544	—	560
15 years	—	417	12	429
16 years	—	16	491	507
17 years	—	—	425	425
18 years or more	—	—	59	59
Not Known	23	12	3	38
Attending State Schools	865	872	865	2602
Attending Private Schools	125	124	125	374
Attending Co-educational Schools	929	698	690	2317
Attending Single-Sex Schools	61	298	300	659
Rural-Urban Distribution				
Main Centre	136	208	225	569
Urban	371	299	298	968
Town	212	249	235	696
Rural	271	240	232	743
Ethnic Group				
European	761	846	905	2512
Maori	136	82	33	251
Pacific Islander	21	17	7	45
Other	57	33	36	126
Not Known	15	18	9	42

Research Findings

The first taste

One student in this study commented that 'If parents stop their children from trying alcohol, they will only try it out for themselves.' Many parents may feel the same way, since of the 90 percent of students who were able to recall where they first tasted alcohol, 68 percent said it was at home with their parents. It seems that in large part parents allow their children to have their first taste of alcohol at home, if only as a sip when they themselves are drinking.

The first taste often occurs at a young age. Of the 75 percent of students who were able to recall how old they were when they first tasted alcohol, one half had tried it at or before 9 years, and more than three-quarters at or before 11 years. These results do not mean that young people begin regular drinking at this age, since the question asked specifically about the first 'taste or sip' of alcohol. However, it is clear from the large number of children who had tried alcohol at an early age that parents do not take a completely prohibitive attitude toward their children trying alcohol.

Drinkers and non-drinkers

Students in this study were classified into two groups — drinkers and non-drinkers — on the basis of their frequency of alcohol use. Those who drank at least as often as a few times a year were defined as 'drinkers' which accounted for 79 percent of students, while the remaining students had either 'only tasted' (16 percent) or had never drunk alcohol (5 percent). For purposes of analysis students falling into either of these categories were called 'non-drinkers.' The following table shows this distribution, and in addition shows that as students progress from Form II through to Form VI they are more likely to drink alcohol.

Table 2 Number of drinkers and non-drinkers

Group	Form Percentage II	IV	VI	Weighted Total Percentage
'Non-Drinkers'				
Never drink	8	5	2	5
Tasted once or twice	27	9	8	16
'Drinkers'				
Drink at least a few times a year	65	86	90	79
Sample N	990	996	990	2976

Most New Zealand school students in or beyond Form II have at least tasted alcohol. Only five percent of the students in this study had never drunk alcohol.

As students get older, they are more likely to drink. Ninety percent of sixth form students drank at least a few times a year.

Most popular drinks

Students were asked how often they drank each of four different types of alcohol. The most popular beverage was beer (drunk by 70 percent of students) followed by wine (59 percent) then spirits (41 percent) and fortified wines (38 percent). Form II students differed from the others because they were least likely to drink spirits.

Frequency of drinking

As students get older, not only are they more likely to drink alcohol, but they are also likely to drink more often. Figure 1 shows the percentage of students in each form who reported drinking each type of alcohol at least once a month. It reflects much of the overall drinking

pattern of students in this study. Form II students reported that they drank relatively infrequently (38 percent drank beer at least once a month, and between 16 and 18 percent drank other types of alcohol at least once a month), while drinking progressively increased in frequency at the Form IV and Form VI level. Form VI students drank all types of alcohol more often than younger students, and in particular drank spirits a great deal more frequently.

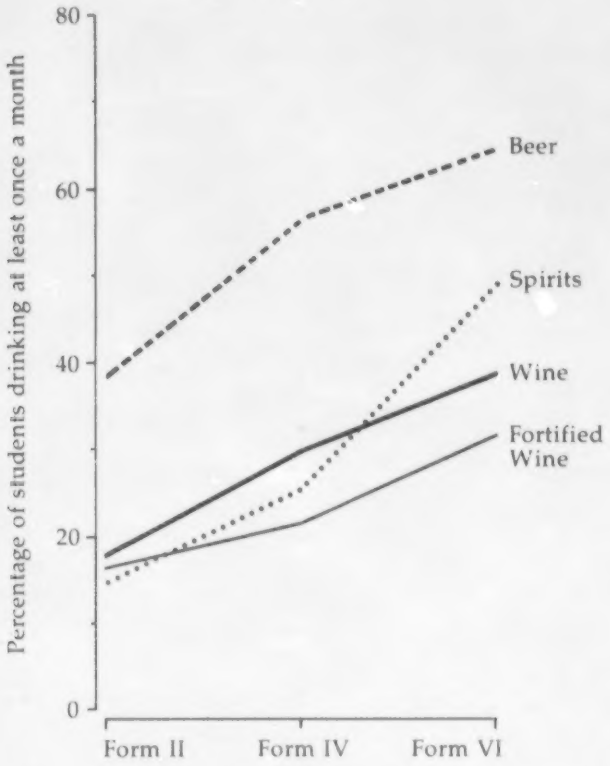

Fig. 1 Percentage of students drinking each type of alcohol

Amount of alcohol drunk

> *I don't think that all that many have alcohol problems. I recognize that some do but people seem to think that all of us drink and get drunk regularly. You only hear about the ones who drink more than they should; not the ones who drink just a bit.*
>
> *(Form IV girl)*

Typically the young people in this study reported moderate levels of alcohol consumption. Younger students especially showed that they drank both infrequently and in limited amounts. Of those who drank beer in Form II, 60 percent usually had half a glass or less, and of those who drank all other types of alcohol, more than 70 percent had half a glass or less.

While a majority of fourth and sixth form students also reported moderate levels of alcohol intake, it seems that as students get older not only do they drink more often, but in larger amounts as well. A number of sixth form students said that their usual drinking pattern was to have what might be described as 'adult' amounts of alcohol — 24 percent of the sixth form beer drinkers had 2 bottles or more each time, and 11 percent of the spirits drinkers had 5 glasses or more per occasion.

Table 3 Amount of beer usually drunk each time by beer drinkers.

Quantity of beer	Form Percentage[1] II	IV	VI
Half a glass or less	61	27	14
1-3 glasses	34	52	50
1 bottle	5	12	12
2 bottles or more	1	9	24
Sample N	823	874	852

[1]. The percentages on this and other tables may not sum to 100, due to rounding errors.

Table 4 Amount of wine usually drunk each time by wine drinkers.

Quantity of wine	Form Percentage II	IV	VI
Half a glass or less	71	47	22
1-2 glasses	24	46	58
3-4 glasses	4	6	16
5 glasses or more	1	1	4
Sample N	734	822	863

Table 5 Amount of fortified wine usually drunk each time by fortified wine drinkers.

Quantity of fortified wine	Form Percentage II	IV	VI
Half a glass or less	78	58	46
1-2 glasses	19	38	49
3-4 glasses	2	3	5
5 glasses or more	1	1	1
Sample N	551	693	732

Table 6 Amount of spirits usually drunk each time by spirits drinkers.

Quantity of spirits	Form Percentage II	IV	VI
Half a glass or less	78	52	28
1-2 glasses	18	33	40
3-4 glasses	3	12	21
5 glasses or more	1	4	11
Sample N	506	712	796

Differences between the sexes

Many studies of school-age drinking, including the

present one, have found that males and females differ in the extent of their alcohol use. In general, the results showed that males were more likely to be drinkers, and to drink more often and in greater quantities than females. This was especially so among younger students. Of those in Form II, 46 percent of girls were non-drinkers, compared with 26 percent of boys. Similarly, as Table 7 shows, a much smaller percentage of girls than boys in Form II drank each type of alcohol (the difference ranged between 11 and 25 percent). Fourth form students showed a similar pattern, although the difference between boys and girls was much less pronounced.

Table 7 Percentage of males and females in each form drinking each type of alcohol

Type of Alcohol	Form Percentage		
	II	IV	VI
Beer			
Female	43	69	73
Male	68	84	88
Wine			
Female	31	59	79
Male	50	68	78
Fortified Wine			
Female	17	38	52
Male	30	47	50
Spirits			
Female	15	43	69
Male	26	50	64

However, the sixth form students provided a complete contrast. Beer drinking continued to be more popular with boys, but slightly more girls than boys drank wine, fortified wine and spirits. It seems then that although girls are less likely to drink alcohol in their early teens, by the time they reach the sixth form, they have attained 'equal status.'

One sixth form student had her own ideas about why this occurs:

> *Being with a boyfriend seems to influence girls drinking more, probably because they supply it, otherwise I don't think girls would worry about it so much.*
>
> *(Form VI girl)*

Most students drank alcohol in moderate amounts. Some of the sixth form drinkers reported much higher levels of alcohol intake, approximating adult drinking patterns.

More boys than girls drank alcohol, and in general girls drank less often and less alcohol than boys. However, at the sixth form level, these differences were much less pronounced.

Nature of student drinking

The students classified as drinkers[1] were asked where they had drunk alcohol, who they had drunk it with, and how they had obtained alcohol. Table 8 shows the settings in which students had consumed alcohol. As might be expected from earlier results, a large proportion (around 90 percent in each form) had drunk at home. The next most important settings were relatives' homes and friends' places (about 61 percent overall in each location). In general the higher the form level, the greater was the number of students who had drunk in settings outside the home.

Table 8 Settings in which drinkers have drunk alcohol, by form.

Drinking situation	Form Percentage[1]			Weighted Total Percentage
	II	IV	VI	
Home	93	91	92	92
Relative's home	51	62	70	61
Friend's place	35	64	84	62
Restaurant	28	39	66	43
Sports club	10	19	42	23
Hotel or tavern bar	11	19	47	25
Car	10	27	45	28
Park or street	5	13	22	13
Outdoors	25	38	50	38
Other	6	12	20	12
Sample N	502	769	858	2129

[1]. The percentages do not sum to 100 since students could name more than one setting.

The results indicate that the majority of young people learn about alcohol and are initiated into drinking at home, and that this remains an important setting throughout school life. However, beginning in the fourth form and certainly by the sixth form, other settings, those outside the home, assume real importance. This was highlighted when students indicated the one place where they were most likely to drink alcohol. The results, in Figure 2, show that as the importance of home declines, the importance of both friends' places and other settings increases.

Responses to questions about who young people drank with, and how they obtained alcohol, showed similar patterns. Although a large number of students in each form (ranging from 88 percent in Form II to about 75 percent in Forms IV and VI) said they drank with their parents, the number who were most likely to drink in the company of their parents dropped from 76 percent in Form II to only 32 percent in Form VI. Correspondingly, sixth form students were much more likely than younger students to drink with friends or relatives their own age, and boy or girl friends.

[1]. Some students described as 'drinkers' for the purposes of analysis did not classify themselves as such and so did not answer these questions. The results are therefore based on about 90 percent of the 'drinkers.'

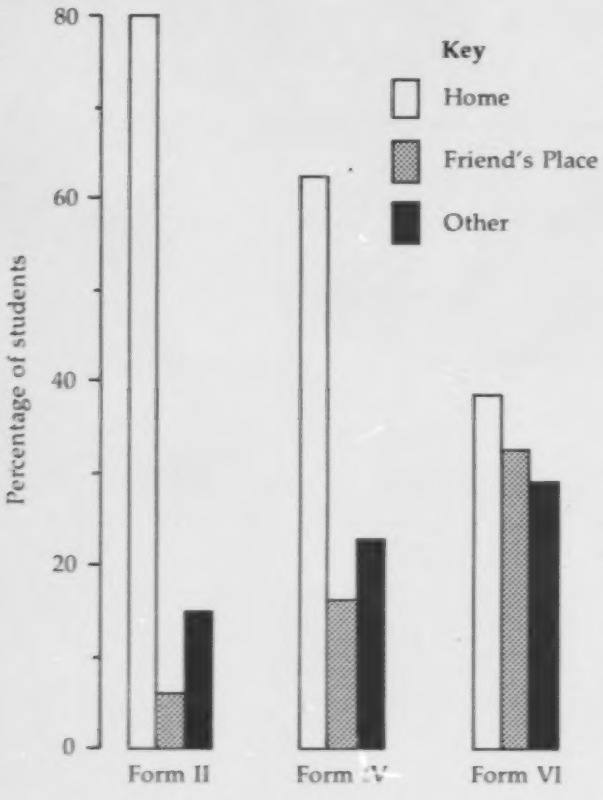

Fig 2 Setting in which students are most likely to drink

The role of parents in providing alcohol very closely parallels their role as company when drinking. However, although friends play some part in providing alcohol (44 percent of sixth form students named them as a source), only about 9 percent of sixth form students named them as the most likely source, compared with 31 percent who mentioned their parents. The most likely source other than parents was a party or other celebration, mentioned by 29 percent.

Reasons for drinking

Explanations for adolescent drinking often emphasise the relative influence of the peer group and adults, particularly parents, in shaping young people's drinking behaviour. The students in this study were presented with a list of possible reasons for drinking and asked to indicate those which applied to them. Many of these reasons related to the issue of peer and adult influences. The percentages of students giving each reason are shown in Table 9.

Students' responses to earlier questions showed that in early teenage years in particular the bulk of student drinking takes place at home in the company of parents. It is therefore not surprising that many students (about 44 percent in each form) saw the use of alcohol at home with meals or on other occasions as a reason why they themselves drank.

Some students said that they used alcohol to alleviate tension and anxiety in social situations. This kind of negative approach to the use of alcohol was more prevalent among sixth form drinkers, 33 percent of them saying that they drank because it helped them mix more easily with others, 21 percent in order to have a good time, and 15 percent to make them worry less about things. Few of the younger students chose these as their reasons for drinking.

Table 9 Drinkers' reasons for drinking alcohol

Reasons for Drinking Alcohol	Form Percentage[1] II	IV	VI	Weighted Total Percentage
Makes me feel happy and relaxed	10	29	49	29
It's a good way to celebrate	31	44	47	41
We have alcohol at home with meals and on other occasions	43	44	45	44
I can have a better time if I drink alcohol	5	17	21	15
I like the taste	46	48	61	51
I want to join in with my friends who are drinking	6	20	25	18
It's part of becoming an adult	6	7	3	6
It makes me worry less about things	4	10	15	10
It's available at parties and other celebrations	16	29	37	27
It helps me mix more easily with other people	6	20	33	20
I don't want to be the "odd one out" in a group	11	18	13	15
Some other reason	5	7	10	7

[1]. The percentages do not sum to 100 since students could select more than one reason.

Generally, positive social reasons for drinking were more frequently cited than negative reasons by students at all form levels. Alcohol was seen as a 'good way to celebrate' by 41 percent of those who drank, and its availability at parties and other celebrations was given as a reason for drinking by 27 percent of drinkers. The older students were more likely to offer these kinds of reasons for drinking than younger students.

The suggestion has often been made that 'peers,' meaning friends or associates of similar age, play an important part in shaping adolescent drinking behaviour. In fact, few students considered that they were pressured into drinking as a result of peer group influences. Only 15 to 18 percent chose reasons for drinking which were directly related to pressure from their friends or others around them. This is not to suggest that friends are of little consequence in adolescent drinking, since answers to earlier questions showed that, as students got older, friends were increasingly likely to provide the place for drinking, the access to alcohol, and to replace parents as the most likely drinking companions. What the result does imply is that the concept of young people being 'pressured' into drinking by their friends provides an inadequate explanation of how adolescents learn about alcohol and begin to participate in its use.

An influential model is provided to young people

through the use of alcohol at home by parents and other adults. But outside the home environment there are community and social pressures at work. In a society such as ours, where many adults drink, and the use of alcohol is culturally accepted and sanctioned within the adult population, alcohol may be seen by young people to symbolize adult status. Interestingly, only a very small proportion of students, (6 percent), expressed the opinion that they drank alcohol because 'its part of becoming an adult.' In fact, the most frequently offered reason for drinking and the one seen as most important by 23 percent of student drinkers was 'because I like the taste.' Many other studies have obtained a similar response to this question, and some researchers[1] have explained this as an example of 'anticipatory socialisation.' The implication of this term is that in anticipation of approaching adulthood young people see the use of alcohol as a means by which they can begin to adopt an adult role. The law tends to endorse the view of drinking as an adult activity by prohibiting the sale of liquor to minors, so that drinking and liking the taste of alcohol may become synonymous with adulthood and sophistication. In claiming to like the taste as a reason for drinking, many young people may therefore be seen as expressing a preference for an adult role.

The most important reason

The reasons which lead students to give liking the taste as an explanation for drinking may be complex. But the fact remains that not only did a majority of students in all forms choose this reason, but when it came to selecting the one most important reason for drinking, liking the taste also featured prominently. Sixth form students placed it in top position, while the younger students ranked it in second place, after having alcohol 'at home with meals and on other occasions.' The three most important reasons at each form level were as follows:

Form II and Form IV

1. We have it at home with meals and on other occasions. (31% and 24%)
2. I like the taste. (29% and 21%)
3. Its a good way to celebrate. (16%)

Form VI

1. I like the taste. (21%)
2. It makes me feel happy and relaxed. (16%)
3. We have it at home with meals and on other occasions. (15%)

Answers to earlier questions showed that younger students did most of their drinking at home with their parents. Consistent with that behaviour they saw the use of alcohol at home as their main reason for drinking. Sixth formers placed less emphasis on the use of alcohol at home and gave more importance to social reasons for drinking.

The use of alcohol at home was seen by many students as an important reason why they themselves drank.

Few students considered that they drank because of pressure from friends.

It is possible that many students drink as part of their increasing adoption of adult roles.

Reasons for non-drinking

Although the non-drinking group formed a small proportion of the students in this study (21 percent), the reasons they offered for their non-drinking were varied. In part such differences can be explained in terms of maturity. Form II students were more likely to give reasons related to their young age, whereas older students who were non-drinkers gave the impression they had made a definite decision to abstain from alcohol.

Table 10 Non-drinkers' reasons for not drinking

Reasons for Not Drinking Alcohol	Form Percentage[1]			Weighted Total Percentage
	II	IV	VI	
My parents don't like me drinking alcohol	50	37	46	46
I am too young to drink alcohol	46	21	8	35
Drinking costs too much	14	12	11	13
Drinking makes me ill	11	6	7	9
I don't like the taste	53	62	62	56
Drinking alcohol is against my religion	12	14	34	15
I haven't had the chance to try it	6	5	2	5
My friends don't drink alcohol, so I don't	8	6	8	7
Drinking alcohol is against the law for someone my age	32	19	12	26
I prefer to enjoy social occasions without alcohol	37	39	62	40
Drinking is bad for my health	43	42	45	43
Drinking makes people lose control of themselves	42	30	55	40
Some other reason	3	10	11	6

[1]. The percentages do not sum to 100 since students could select more than one reason.

As Table 10 shows, 46 percent of Form II non-drinkers said that they were too young to drink alcohol, whereas only 8 percent of the sixth formers considered that this

[1]. See Marden, P.G. and Kolodner, K. *Alcohol use and abuse among adolescents.* Unpublished report, NIAAA; and Maddox, G.L. and McCall, B.C. *Drinking among teenagers: a sociological interpretation of alcohol use by high-school students.* New Brunswick: Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies, 1964.

was so. The younger students showed a fairly extreme form of opposition to the use of alcohol:

I think young people should never drink alcohol because they could get themselves killed and they will grow up to be alcoholics.

(Form II girl)

Similarly, the reasons they offered for non-drinking reflected a certain naivety. For example, 32 percent said that they abstained because it was against the law for someone their age to drink. In contrast, the older students were more sophisticated about why they did not drink. Preferring to enjoy social occasions without alcohol was a reason offered by 62 percent of fourth and sixth formers, while 34 percent of the latter stated that their non-drinking resulted from religious opposition to alcohol. A reason shared by students in all forms (over 40 percent) was that drinking was bad for the health.

However, the majority of non-drinkers stated that the reason they did not drink alcohol was because they disliked the taste. One sixth form student enjoyed the opportunity to say so in no uncertain terms:

Out of all the drinks I have tried I have liked none. They taste revolting.

(Form VI girl)

The most important reason

Non-drinkers also gave disliking the taste as their most important reason for not drinking. Within each form, the three most important reasons given in order of importance were as follows:

Form II
1. I don't like the taste (20%)
2. I am too young to drink alcohol. (16%)
3. Drinking is bad for my health. (15%)

Form IV
1. I don't like the taste. (29%)
2. Drinking is bad for my health. (20%)
3. My parents don't like me drinking alcohol. (12%)

Form VI
1. I don't like the taste. (25%)
2. Drinking is against my religion. (18%)
3. Drinking makes you lose control of yourself. (14%)

Most non-drinkers said that they did not drink because they disliked the taste of alcohol.

Older students were more likely to abstain for religious reasons and reasons of personal preference.

More younger non-drinkers said they refrained from drinking because they were too young, or because they thought drinking was bad for their health.

Non-drinkers in social situations

Of those students who drank, only a few considered that some form of social pressure influenced their drinking. However, as their social experience widens, students are increasingly likely to find themselves in the company of others who are drinking. Several questions explored the pressures on non-drinking students in those situations. The first asked non-drinkers how often they went to parties where alcohol was served. Overall, about 66 percent of the students said they never attended such parties, or did so only rarely. However, in answer to a further question, few of the non-drinkers said they felt left out when they did attend parties where alcohol was served.

Most non-drinkers did not appear to be under pressure from others to drink. Only 19 percent reported that drinks were offered to them 'sometimes' or 'often'; fewer (15 percent) said that other people attempted to persuade them to drink, or that they felt embarrassed when refusing a drink.

However, such pressures as do exist were more likely to be felt by older students. For example, 31 percent of sixth formers, compared with 11 percent of Form II students, said that others often or sometimes attempted to persuade them to drink.

One student, himself a drinker, described some of the attitudes facing non-drinkers:

The main reason we have problems at present with young people and alcohol is from social pressure. Even sometimes from parents as I have experienced. They say I will be a big stiff if I don't drink to be sociable. However, I do know what a bore these people are that only drink Lemon and Paeroa . . .

(Form VI boy)

Despite the pressure felt by some non-drinkers, the vast majority (92 percent) said that they rarely or never felt inclined to try an alcoholic drink.

Most non-drinkers did not seem to feel pressured to drink.

Such pressures as exist were felt more strongly by older students.

Attitudes About Alcohol

Student Attitudes

The attitudes students expressed about alcohol and drinking were broadly related to their range of experience. Table 11 shows that older students, who generally drank more, and in a wide variety of contexts, expressed greater approval of drinking associated with parties and sports activities than did younger students. On the other hand, many Form II students agreed with restricted ac-

Table 11 Percentage of students agreeing with attitude items

Statement	Form Percentage II	IV	VI	Weighted Total Percentage
Alcohol makes a party go better	35	56	65	50
It's O.K. to drink alcohol after sports activities	22	39	53	36
Adults should supervise parties for people my age if alcohol is served	73	57	30	57
It's O.K. for girls to get drunk	15	28	26	23
People who don't drink probably miss a lot of fun	11	18	12	14
It's O.K. for boys to to get drunk	20	39	37	32
The more alcohol you can drink, the more adult your friends think you are	14	19	13	16
It's O.K. to get drunk occasionally	34	54	51	46
Young people can't handle alcohol; they should wait until they are older to drink	71	43	21	49
'Learning about alcohol' should be taught in schools	75	76	77	76
It can be embarrassing to refuse a drink if you don't really want one	44	46	38	43
It's difficult to talk about drinking with parents	39	34	27	34

cess to alcohol such as adult supervision of parties (71 percent) and delaying alcohol use until they were older (73 percent). The corresponding percentage of sixth formers agreeing with these suggestions was 30 percent or less.

Students were also asked for their views on drunkenness. The results showed an interesting difference in attitudes about male and female drinking. Although 32 percent of students agreed that it was 'O.K. for boys to get drunk,' the figure dropped to 23 percent for girls. This difference is probably accounted for in alcohol drinking patterns, which showed that males are more likely to drink and to do so more often and in greater quantity than females. A larger number of students (46 percent) agreed that it was 'O.K. to get drunk occasionally,' a result which probably reflects the degree of tolerance about drunkenness evident in our community.

One sixth form male student illustrated such tolerance when giving his views on moderation in drinking:

> *Alcohol should be available to young people so long as they don't have too much too often, i.e. they shouldn't get drunk more than once every two weeks.*
>
> *(Form VI boy)*

An interesting point emerging from these results was that changes in attitudes seemed to occur before changes in behaviour. While Form IV students were similar to Form II students in drinking behaviour, their attitudes about alcohol were more like those of the sixth formers.

Older students were more likely to express approval of drinking associated with parties and sports acitivites.

More younger students supported restrictions on school students' access to alcohol.

Many students showed some tolerance of drunkenness — half the Form IV and Form VI students agreed that it was 'O.K. to get drunk occasionally.'

Parental Attitudes

Students were asked to imagine themselves in a number of situations involving alcohol and then to say whether their parents would approve or disapprove. The situations, and the proportion of students in each form who said their parents would approve or strongly approve of them, are shown in Table 12.

Table 12 Percentage of students who expected their parents would approve of their being in each situation.

Situation	Form Percentage II	IV	VI	Weighted Total Percentage
Drinking alcohol after a Saturday sports game	5	18	38	18
Drinking alcohol at home in the company of adults	25	56	78	49
Getting drunk at home	5	8	7	7
Drinking one or two glasses of alcohol on a special occasion	51	78	90	71
Getting drunk at a party	6	8	5	7
Drinking one or two glasses of alcohol with a meal	32	61	76	53
Sample N	979	984	982	2945

Three situations — drinking at home with adults, and drinking one or two glasses of alcohol on a special occasion, or with a meal — involved supervised or restricted social drinking. Between 76 and 90 percent of sixth formers believed that their parents would approve of those activities, while even at the Form II level a significant proportion of students (between 25 and 51 percent) also expected such approval. Parents' views might be reflected in the comment of one 14-year-old student who said:

> *I feel that there is nothing wrong with people drinking at home because it gives them a knowledge of alcoholic drinks so they know how to handle themselves without parents' supervision.*
>
> *(Form IV boy)*

Far fewer students anticipated that their parents would approve of them drinking after a Saturday sports game

— an unsupervised situation — although as for supervised drinking there was an increase in expected approval at higher form levels.

Very few students in any form (ranging between 5 and 8 percent) believed that their parents would approve of their getting drunk, either at home or at a party.

Students generally thought their parents would approve of supervised drinking, but would disapprove of drunkenness.

Summary

As this study revealed, the large majority of school students surveyed had some experience of alcohol. In addition, many were regular drinkers. In view of the ready availability and widespread acceptance of alcohol within our community these findings are perhaps not surprising. The adoption by young people of the example set by parents and other adults can be seen as part of the overall socialisation process which occurs during adolescence. Many young people are introduced to alcohol at home, and participate in its use with their parents. As their social experience widens they encounter alcohol in situations removed from the supervision of their parents.

Since the opportunity to drink increasingly presents itself to young people, it is inevitable that many of them will accept the chance to participate. 'Teenage drinking' is thus not an isolated phenomenon, distinct from or dissimilar to the use of alcohol by the adult population. Much of the research findings suggest that it is in fact a reflection of the kinds of attitudes and behaviours shown by adults. In a culture such as ours where drinking is the norm, the process of learning about alcohol and participating in drinking seems therefore to be a predictable part of the general process of teenage growth and development.

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104. Pickens, K. A.
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105. Elley, W. B.
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106. McDonald, G.
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107. Benton, R.
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108. Jamieson, P.
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138. *Early Childhood Education in New Zealand: Recent Work.*
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158. Rosenberg, G.
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An outline of the objectives and methods of the SHEIK.

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A discussion of steps teachers can take to help students develop listening skills.

163. Malcolm, M. S.
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164. *Children in Hospital.*
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166. Croft, C.
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